DUE DATE

_______Acc. No._______________

... per day for first 15 days.

Rs. 2.00 per day after 15 days of the due date,

NATIONAL HIJRA CENTENARY COMMITTEE
PAKISTAN

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS

(MARCH 7—10, 1981)

CONFERENCE PAPERS

Volume I

CONTENTS

SOME BASIC ISSUES OF FISCAL POLICY IN ISLAMIC ECONOMY*

(With special reference to Pakistan)

INTRODUCTION :

The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the basic issues of fiscal policy in an Islamic economy. Such an attempt is justified by the fact, that, in certain quarters of some Muslim countries, particularly in Pakistan, there is a strong desire to remodel their social and economic system in consonance with the Islamic injunctions. In Pakistan, the government has also committed itself to establish an Islamic economic order. Thus a significant step was taken in this connection on 10th February, 1979, when the Government of Pakistan issued the *Zakah* and *Ushr* Order, 1979, through which the Islamic taxes of *Zakah* and *Ushr* were incorporated into the law and the Government was authorized to receive the payment on account of these new taxes. Hence, this paper is concerned with the following issues : (i) What type of fiscal system is being suggested by the advocates of Islamic economy ? (ii) What evidences, if any, do they provide in support of their postulates, from the Islamic Scriptures, particularly from *Al-Quran* and *Sunnah* ? (iii) How far these proposals are consistent with the Islamic injunctions? (iv) What are the conditions which may make these proposals, economically viable keeping in view the functioning and requirements of a modern economy or conversely what shall be the economic implications if these proposals are adopted in a modern setting ? Consequently, this paper has been divided into five sections. Section I deals with the definition of an Islamic economy. Section II outlines the institutional framework of such an economy. In Section III the fiscal structure of an Islamic economy has been presented and analysed. This section draws heavily from the historical sources and examines the fiscal mechanism of Islamic State when they existed in the past. Section IV presents a hypothetical Islamic budget for Pakistan suggesting the types of changes in the fiscal structure which will have to come through if the Islamic injunctions become operative. The last section raises certain unresolved problems and indicates the areas for further investigation.

SECTION I

The term Islamic economy refers to an economy whose basic structures laid down in accordance with the injunctions of *Al-Quran* and *Sunnah*.[1] The

*I am thankful to Professor K. A. Naqvi, Delhi School of Economics, for encouragement and several discussions which helped in crystallizing certain ideas, and to Dr. Oktay Yenal (I. B. R. P. New Delhi) for comments on an earlier draft. Thanks are also due to Dr. Majid Ali Khan and Mr. Ziaul Hasan Nadvi, Department of Islamic Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi and to Mr. Abdullah Tariq, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi who provided valuable help by making some source material in Arabic accessible to me, However, only I am responsible for the views presented here and the remaining defects.

basic structure refers to property relations, organization of factors of production and the coordination of all legal economic activities. The domain of legal economic activities is usually decided by the government of the day which translate the prevailing social philosophy of its time into operative laws. However, in case of Islamic society, the domain is given by the *Al-Quran* and *Sunnah*. It is not subject to any revision or change as it is the law given by the Almighty God Himself. On the other hand, the laws made by the mortals are subject to alteration and change, if and when the need be.

Islam is not an ascetic religion. It does not prohibit the wordly persuits and material well-being provided that the acquisitive instincts of man are within reasonable limits *i.e.* He refrains from the acts which are forbidden in Islam. For instance, the verse (II : 188) says :[2]

"And do not eat up
Your property among yourselves
For vanities nor use it for
As bait for judges,
With intent that ye may
eat up wrongfully and knowingly
a little of (other) people's property."

(II : 188)

This verse calls for right use of property and prohibits it waste in vanities. It also forbid bribery and encroachment upon other people's property. Islam prescribes a moral code of conduct for individuals as well as for society. A distinction has been made between lawful (*Halal*) and forbidden (*Haram*) in case of eatables. Whatever God has made lawful can not be made forbidden by man.

"But say not—for any thing
That you tongue may put forth,
'This is lawful and this is forbidden'
So as to ascribe
False things to God. For those
Who ascribe false things
To God will never prosper"

(XVI : 116)

Similarly good and bad means of livelihood are also distinguished. A high value is attached to 'lawful livelihood'. Earning one's livelihood by unlawful means is discouraged. A previous verse in the same chapter says :

"So eat of the sustenance
Which God has provided
For you, Lawful and good;
and be grateful for the favours
of God, if it is He
Whom ye serve."

(XVI : 114)

Thus emphasis is given to obtain one's sustenance from the lawful and good means. Instead of pleading for asceticism and abstinence, Islam requires that man should make use of the resources which God has bestowed upon him. The provision of sustenance is a recurring theme in *Al-Quran* and the verses dealing with this subject could be divided into two broad categories. (i) The verses in which God declares that He is the ultimate provenance of all sustenance for all living creatures, and (ii) those verses which directly and specifically induce man to engage himself in the economic activity. Even the former group of verses bring out clearly the importance of economic aspect of human activity in the Islamic Scheme.

The Almighty says :

There is no moving creature
on earth but its sustenance dependeth
on God.

(XI : 6)

And we have provided therein
Means of subsistence — for you
and for those for whose sustenance
Ye are not responsible

(XV : 201)

Kill not your children
On a plea of want—we
provide sustenance for you and
for them

(VI : 151)

It is we who have
placed you with authority
one earth, and provided
you therein with means
For the fulfilment of your life

(VII : 151)

Eat of the sustenance (Provided)
by your Lord and be grateful
to Him.

(XXXIV : 15)

Say : who hath forbidden
The beautiful (Gifts) of God
which he hath produced
For his servants
And the things, clean and pure
(Which he hath provided)
For sustenance

(VII : 32)

Thus, wealth has been described by Quran as Gift of God, and a means of sustaining the life. (IV : 4) provided that it has been obtained by the lawful means. The following verse ordains a direct injunction to obtain one's livelihood :

When you finish your prayers,
Spread on earth
and look for the kindness of God.

(LXII : 10)

The kindness of God it this verse means to indulge in the economic activity and earn one's livelihood. There is another verse in *Al-Quran* which forbids the waste and destruction of property on wealth and calls for traffic and trade:

O ye believe !
Eat not up your property
Among yourself in vanities :
But let there be amongst you
Traffic and trade
By mutual goodwill
Nor Kill (or destroy)
Yourself : for verily
God hath been to you
most Merciful !

(IV : 29)

There are many traditions in *Hadith* which point towards the desirability of economic persuits. Some of these traditions are given below :

"A spacious house, a gentle neighbour and
a good horse constitute the welfare of man
"Oh God ! I take thy refuge
from Poverty, need and humiliation"[4]
"The attempt to obtain one's
livelihood by lawful means is
a duty after the duty (Prayers)[5]

Thus, the desirability of economic activity is established by the injunctions of *Al-Quran* and *Sunnah.*

II. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK :

A fiscal system operates only within a given institutional framework. An Islamic economy would be distinguished from any other type of economy only because of its institutions. In an Islamic economy, these may include, *inter alia,* the existence of Private property, Free market, complete abolition of interest *(Riba),* imposition of *zakah*, moderation in consumption, economic role of government, *Al-Hisba,*[6] and *mudaribah*. Let us briefly discuss them.

(a) Private Property :

The concept of property right in Islam is closer to the idea of trusteeship. In a general sense, all property and wealth belongs to God as he is the creator of all wealth. He has created the wealth and natural resources for the welfare of man :

It is He who Hath created for you
All things that are on earth.

(II : 29)

and man is called upon to enjoy the things which God has provided :

Eat of the sustenance (provided)
By your Lord and be Grateful to Him.

(XXXIV : 15)

Thus the operational right to use the property or wealth have been conferred upon man. The two words, or their derivatives, which occur in *Al-Quran* again and again in the context of economic activities are : *Rizq* which has been translated as sustenance or Bounties, and *Amwal* for which translators use the words like, property, wealth and assets. In fact, the word *Amwal* has a wider connotation and is used for moveable and immoveable property both. It symbolizes the ownership of wordly goods in comparison to the virtues such as honesty, belief in God, sympathy and humanity.

Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that *Amwal* would cover, all the economic goods; consumer goods as well as producer goods, natural resources as well as produced means of production.

Islam accepts the institution of private ownership of property. Many verses in *Al-Quran* such as (LI : 19), (II : 254), (II : 188), (IV : 5), (IV : 29) refer to property as "your property" (*Amwalakum*). This means the property can be owned by the individuals. Obviously, it can not be referred to as 'your property' if ownership is not allowed. At another place Quran says :

And in their wealth
And possession (was reserved)
The right of the (needy)
Him who asked, and him
who for some reason was
prevented (from asking)

(LI : 19)

Of course, first the right of ownership will have to be guaranteed, only then the 'right' of somebody can be reserved therein. Similarly, the imposition of '*Zakah*', which shall be explained at length in Section III, upon *Amwal* (wealth) itself suggests that wealth can be owned privately.

At the time when Islam emerged as a religion, in Arabia, the major form of ownership of property were (i) consumer goods, (ii) cattles, (iii) precious metals, and (iv) land. Since land was the most dominant form of ownership of property, and also most prominent as a means of further production. the available evidence deals almost exclusively with land. Therefore, in what follows, we shall present the evidence supporting the private ownership of land. This may be generalized to other means of production as well.

About the ownership of land, it is said in *Al-Quran* :

> For the earth is God's
> To give as a heritage
> To such of His servants
> As he pleaseth
>
> (VII : 128)

The above verse can be cited in support of private property in land. However there are verses in *Al-Quran* which provide indirect evidence in the favour of private ownership of property of land. For instance, verse 141 of the chapter (*Surah*) VI. calls for a share of a agricultural output to be paid as *Zakah*, which means that individual's right of ownership over land and its produce has been implicitly assumed. If the proprietary rights on land and its produce are not granted, the imposition of *Zakah* would not make any sense.[7]

The right of private property in land can be corroborated if we look for evidence from *Sunnah*. According to Abu-Obaid :

> " The traditions, which we have received from the Messenger of God and his Caliphs, contain three types of injunctions : (i) The land, whose owners accept Islam as their religion shall continue to remain the property of the original owners. Nothing shall be levied on them other than *Ushr*. (ii) Some lands might be captured by a treaty. The original land owners will control their property rights but will be dealt with as per the rules of treaty. (iii) Some lands will be captured by the use of force as a result of war. There is difference of opinion among Muslims about these lands.[8]

At the same time some land would belong to the Islamic State. One source of the State land is the State's share in the booty. For instances, some parts of Khyber and its oasis were under the specific use of the prophet of Islam and he used its revenue to meet the expenses of Islamic State. Similarly, the second caliph, Umar had reserved the following type of land in Iraq for the Islamic State; Land belonging to Muslim soldiers who become deserters, lands occupied by Kaiser, lands occupied by Kaiser's family, Shrublands and buildings used for postal services, lands whose owners get killed in the war etc.[9] Similarly, deserts, forests, unhabitated land also belongs to the state as is evident from the treaty between

the prophet of Islam and the ruler of *Doomatul Jandal* and its vicinity.[10] The treaty said :

> The shallow water in this region and the land located around its vicinity, deserted lands, forests, waste lands, uninhabitated and unmarked lands, arms and ammunition, horses, and the cattles which could be used for riding belong to us (the State)
>
> The city, its oasis and water surface therein belongs to you."[11]

The treaty has also envisaged that the people of *Doomatul Jandal* will offer prayers and pay the levied *Zakah* in full *i.e.* they were converted to Islam at the time of treaty, even then waste-lands, and uninhabitated lands etc. were brought under the control of Islamic state.

Another aspect of private property comes to light when we learn that there uninhabitated and unowned land used to be given as *Iqta*.[12] (The word *Itqa* is derived from *qata* which means piece, usually a piece of land. *Iqta* means giving away the piece of land. Usually, it was done in recognition to one's services to the Islamic state or to the cause of faith.) There is ample evidence that prophet had given big chunks of land as *Iqta*.[13] Similarly Umar, Usman, and other Caliphs had also given *Iqta*.

However, the rights of property conferred upon an individual as a result of *Iqta* are not unlimited.

Firstly, there will be no individual ownership of essential goods required for common needs. It is reported that prophet has given a lake as *Iqta* to Abyaz Bin Hammal. However, when it was discovered that the granted lake was a salt lake, it was taken back.[14]

Secondly, *Iqta* may be given on a specific condition or for a specific purpose. It is reported that Umar gave some villages of Syria to Tamim Dari on the condition that he will not sell the property. Similarly he gave a piece of land on the bank of *Dajla* to Abu Abdullah Nafey for the specific purpose of raising horses.[15]

Thirdly, the allotted land should not be kept unused for long period. It is reported that prophet has granted one *Itqa* to Bilal Bin Harith. However, he did not use it for long period (three years according to Abu Obaid.[16]) Yahya Ibn Adam reports that Umar during his caliphate period asked Bilal to return the land to state because he could not till it "Umar said, "Look for what you can manage and keep that, and what you can not manage, and what you cannot master, surrender that to us, that we may distribute it among the Muslims". And he (Bilal) said, "By God, I shall not do it. A thing, which the Prophet has given me!" "But Umar said, "By God, you have to do it" and he took away from him what he was unable to keep in culture and distributed it among the Muslims. . . ."[17]

In fact, in order to inhabitate the uninhabitated land, *Iqta* is not necessary. somebody inhabitates it, the land shall become his property.[18] As the same ne private property is protected against the encroachment by others. somebody cultivates other persons' land or raises an authorized structure, then may be paid the expenses which he might have incurred; but he will not be lowed to derive any benefits, whatsoever, from his encroachment.[19]

Yet there is another form of ownership which had been prevalent in the early amic period. It is called *Hima*.[20] *Hima* land was reserved for cattles to graze. ese cattles belonged to two categories (i) horses which were used for war. (ii) ttles collected as *Zakah* which were to graze until they were distributed among needy Muslims. Thus, *Hima* represents a form of state ownership.[21] In this nnection, Abu Obaid narrates the following incident which provides an evidence r the justification of *Hima* for defence purposes :

> "Aslam reports : I heard that a man from *Bani Thalba* came and said this to Umar : "Oh ! Chief of Muslims you have made our lands *Hima* (Reserved) although we used to fight for it during *Jahiliah* (the pre-Islamic period in Arabia) and when we accepted Islam, these lands were our property". He repeatedly asked this and Umar bowed his head. At last, he raised his head and said, "Property and lands belong to *Allah*, and they can be reserved for the cattles on which *Mujahidin* (the participants of holy war) ride to fight for the sake of God."[22]

Thus, the following principles of ownership of land could be established in light of teaching of *Al-Quran* and *Sunnah*.

1. Land belongs to God but the operational rights of ownership are conferred upon private individuals.
2. Private landed property will be protected against encroachment by others.
3. Some land may be owned by State. The income from this property will go to government treasury (*Baitul Mal*). This type of land is called *Sawafi*.[23]
4. The government may give *Iqta* from unhabitated lands as per rules.
5. Some land may be reserved (*Hima*) for collective use, particularly defence.

Although, these principles are formulated specifically for land, but there nothing which forbids their extension to produced means of production, and ner forms of wealth.

(b) Free Market :

Given the right of private property and desirability to obtain one's livelihood, nomic life could be organized on the basis of mutual exchange. The verse

29 of the Chapter IV in *Al-Quran*, whose text has been quoted in an earlier sections says :

Eat not up your property
Among yourselves in vanities
But let there be amongst you
Traffic and trade
By mutual goodwill.

(IV : 29)

In this connection it is pointed out that mutual goodwill and agreement must be real and not an apparent one. It is necessary that contracting parties must have an equal footing and this should not be a relationship between the opressor and opressed. For instance, the agreement between the lender who charges an exhorbitant interest on his principal and the borrower who is desperately trying to raise a distress loan, cannot be regarded as real although it may appear that they have agreed to transact business. Thus "agreement by compulsion" and "agreement by impulse" will not come under the purview of 'mutual goodwill'.[24]

There are many sayings of the Prophet of Islam prescribing the right conduct for the traders.

"The Messenger of God (P.b.u.h.) has declared the forced and compelled transaction illegal."

(Abu Daud)

"The Messeage of God (P.b.u.h.) has prohibited to turn one transaction into two transactions."

(Tirmizi, Nisai)

"The Messenger of God (P.b.u.h.) has asked me not to sell a thing which is not in my ownership at the time of transaction."

(Tirmizi)

"The Messenger of God (P.b.u.h.) has determined the fraudulent transaction and those involving chance as unlawful."

(Tirmizi)

"The Messenger of God (P.b.u.h.) has declared dishonest transactions as illegal."

(Bukhari)

Thus Islamic injunctions require that all transactions must be straight forward and based upon mutual goodwill and cooperation. They should be in conformity with the Quranic injunction :

Help ye one another
In righteousness and piety,
But help ye not one another
In sin and rancour ;

(V ; 3)

Cooperation is *sine qua ncn* of Islamic economy. Explaining this Shah Waliullah points out that economic persuits of one man should not put the interest of other persons in jeopardy.[25] The transaction with incomplete information, fraudulent, and dishonest transactions, and those containing speculation are prohibited. The prophet has also prohibited *Ehtikar*.

> The Messenger of God said that
> One who indulges in *Ehtikar* is guilty.
> In another tradition, he said that God
> curses the one who indulges in *Ehtikar*
>
> (Muslim, Mishkwat)

Ehtikar means some body may buy something (say foodgrains) in huge quantity to tame the market. By stock-piling he may compel others to buy the foodgrain at the prices dictated by him.[26]

The prohibition of *Ehtikar* may be interpreted in two ways. (i) in one narrow sense, it prohibits hoarding and speculative profits. (ii) in a largers sense, it prohibits monopoly and its contiol over price. Some time *Ehtikar* means the concentration of economic power in few sections of society.[27] The Islamic injunctions for transaction of business would be consistent only with a competitive market. The existence of monopoly would obstruct the compliance with the injunctions in more than one ways. For example, a transaction, according to Islamic injunctions, has to be executed only with full knowledge. But complete knowledge can be assured only if competition persists. Secondly, the existence of monopoly would violate the injunction that all transaction agreement must be done with mutual agreements as the monopolist or monoposonist will always be in a position to enforce his will. Finally, the spirit of constructive cooperation which Islam envisages to revoke will find its complete manifestation only in a free and competitive economy in which the actions of one competitive unit may have very little or negligible effects on other competitors, and thus may not jeopardize other people's interests. In market organizations, other than competitive, there is lot of interdependence between the constituent units as well as barriers upon entry. In such markets, the well being of one unit (*e.g.* share of market in duopolistic or oligopolistic market organization) may be achieved only at the cost of others. Moreover, the barrier upon entry itself violates the basic spirit behind the Islamic injunctions. Thus, we come to the conclusion, that in Islamic economy markets will be free and purely competitive.

(c) Complete Abolition of Interest :

Interest has been declared illegal by *Al-Quran*. The following verses bear testimony to that :

> That which ye lay out
> For increase through the Property
> of (other) people, will have
> No increase with God

But that which he lay out
For charity, seeking,
The countenance of God
(will increase) : it is
These who will get
A recompense multiplied.

(XXX : 39)

O ye who believe ?
Devour not Usury
Doubled and Multiplied
But fear God ; that
ye may (really) prosper :

(III : 130)

O ye who believe
Fear God and give up
What remains of your demand
For usury, if ye are
indeed believers
If ye do it not,
Take notice of war
From God and His Apostle :

(II : 279)

Keeping in view with these Quranic injunctions, it shall be assumed that all forms of interest are prohibited by law. No interest shall be charged on the loan advances, irrespective of the fact whether these advances are for consumption, production or trade. Similarly, no distinction shall be made between the private and public debt and interest which is now a days given on government bonds, securities, and municipal bonds etc. will also be cancelled in an Islamic economy.

(d) Imposition of Zakah :

Zakah would be imposed on all adult and sane Muslims who have wealth beyond a minimum prescribed in *fiqh*. This amount will be collected by the Islamic State and will be disbursed among the Muslims as per rules prescribed by *Al-Quran*. The details about the imposition and disbursement of *Zakah* will be discussed in the Section III.

(e) Moderation in consumption :

Moderation in consumption is a peculiar characteristic of Islamic economy. Consumption is allowed but excessive indulgence in consumption is not permitted:

Oh children of Adam !
Wear your beautiful apparel
At every time and place

of prayer : eat and drink
But waste not by excess,
for God loveth not the wasters.

(VII : 31)

Greed, selfishness, and niggardliness are among those attributes which have been condemned by God :

And let not those
who covetousy withhold
of the gifts which God
Hath given them of His grace
Think that it is good for them :
Nay, it will be worse for them :

(III : 180)

And there are those
who bury gold and silver
And spend it not in the way
of God : Announce unto them
A most grievous penalty.

(IX : 34)

Thus Quranic injunction is to maintain a reasonable level of consumption pending which could neither be regarded as extravagance nor niggardliness :

Those (servants of God are
most gracious), who, when they spend
Are not extravagant and not
Niggardly, but hold a just (balance)
Between those (extremes)

(XXV : 67)

Thus, all individuals would be expected to live within their means, as spending would be regarded as extravagance if it exceeds the means and as niggardliness if the necessary requirements of life remain unfulfilled at the lost of savings.

(f) Mudaribah :

The business activity shall be organized on the basis of partnership and *udaribah*. Partnership means that two or more than two persons will pool eir resources, run the business jointly and share the profits in the proportions eviously agreed upon. *Al-Mudaribah* is a special situation of partnership. In *udaribah*, the working capital belongs to one party while the other party borrow

the money to run the business. The capital owner does not get interest as it is prohibited. Instead, he advances the loan on the basis of profit sharing, *i.e.* the capital owner will invest his capital in the enterprise with the condition that he will share the profits and loss in the proportion on which the contracting parties may agree. This is the most simple case of *Mudaribah*. The "rules of game" in this matter have been formulated by the experts of Islamic *fiqh* and are available elsewhere.[28]

Some modern Islamic thinkers argue that *Mudaribah* will have to play a significant role in coordinating the economic life of a modern Islamic economy.[29] The commercial banks, industrial corporations, joint stock companies, insurance companies, even public sector enterprises, if there are any, would operate on the basis of *Mudaribah*.

(g) Al-Hisba:

Al-Hisba (*or Ahtisab*) would be an organization set up by state (probably an independent organization, free from state control) to perform the function of a watch—dog agency. The basic function of this organization would be to see that the Rules of *Shariah* are followed in the conduct of business. Some institution of this kind is said to have already existed in the Islamic history.[30] Monzerkahf includes "breaking up monopolies, pricing if the need arises, solving disputes related to the observance of Islamic ethics among producers and consumers, on the one side, and among them and the government, on the other" among those functions which *Al-Hisba* would be expected to perform.[31]

(h) Role of Government :

The basic function of the government in the Islamic state would be the enforcement of the laws of *Shariah*. At the same time of the government would be responsible for the usual functions of the government, such as administration, maintaining of law and order, judiciary, and defence. As far as, the governmental intervention in the economic life is concerned, the evidence is conflicting. Normally, the government would not interfere in the market mechanism unless the hardships are caused to common people by the unfair business practices prohibited by Islamic law.

There is evidence suggesting that Islamic government would *not* resort to price-control measures in case prices are off the balance because of natural scarcity.[32] However, the government would come down heavily upon hoarders if artificial scarcity is created.[33] On the other hand, there are some evidences which require the state to fulfil the basic needs of the people.[34] The basic needs may include "food, clothing, shelter and medical care".[35]

III. FISCAL STRUCTURE IN ISLAM :

Having surveyed the major institutions of Islamic economy, let us have a close look at the fiscal structure which gradually evolved during early Islamic period.

n fact, the early Islamic period, in this case, refers to the period of the prophet himself and regimes of the first four caliphs. The fiscal structure went throught significant changes and by the time of the third caliph, its evolution was almost complete and there was little change in it.[36]

Table I gives the items of revenue and expenditure for the Islamic state. Some of these items have the strength of Quranic injunction behind them while others do not. For some items, the heads of expenses are also specified by *Quran* while some others have been left for the discretion of the caliph. Ther are other differences too. There are differences in the time of assessment, nature of levies, and also in the nature of assesses. Therefore, let us deal with each individual item in some detail.

TABLE I

SOURCES OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN ISLAM

Sources of Revenue	Sources of expenditure
1. Zakah (poor tax)	1. Administration
2. Ushr (Tax on Ag. produce)	2. Educational and Military Scholarship.
3. Kharaj (Land tax)	3. General welfare
4. Jaziya (Poll tax)	4. Octagonal expenses :
5. Sadaqa (Alms)	(*i*) Poors
6. Fay	(*ii*) Needy
7. Khums (of the booty)	(*iii*) Collectors
8. Zaraib (Taxes)	(*iv*) To change hearts
9. Ushoor (Custom duty)	(*v*) To get slaves released
0. Other revenue	(*vi*) To help those in debt
1. Kiraul Arz (land revenue state land)	(*vii*) To help way
	(*viii*) For the sake of God

Source : Hifzur-Rahman : Islam Ka Iqtisadi Nizam :

A) **Sources of Revenue :**

In Islamic economy, there are following sources of revenue.

1. *Zakah* :

Zakah is a compulsory payment imposed upon all adult and sane Muslims who possess wealth beyond a prescribed minimum. It is one among the five major duties of a Muslim to pay his *Zakah* regularly. There are several Ouranic injunctions which make the payment of *Zakah* obligatory.

And be steadfast in prayer
Practice Regular Charity
And bow down your heads
With those who bow down

(II : 43)

Treat with kindness
Your parents and kindered
And orphans and those in need
Speak fair to the people
Be steadfast in prayers
and practice regular Charity

(II ; 83)

To spend of your sustenance
Out of love for Him
For your kins,
For orphans
For the needy,
For the wayfarer
For those who ask,
And for the ransom of slaves
To be steadfast in prayers
And practice regular charity ;
To fulfil the contracts
which ye have made

(II : 177)

There are some Quranic verses which make the *zakah* compulsory. *Al-Quran* has attached a high value to *Zakah* and it has been invariably mentioned after *Salah* as a virtue. The earlier part of the verse (II : 177), which in part has been quoted above, mentions *zakah* along the basic and fundamental propositions of Islamic belief *i.e.* belief in God, His Messenger, His Book, His Angels, and the Last Day. The verse 277 in the same chapter again calls for the payment of *Zakah* and so does verse (IV : 162), (V: 58) and many other verses.

The compulsory nature of *Zakah* and its imposition upon Muslims only become very clear in the following tradition :

" Ibn-e-Abbas reports : The Messenger of God sent Maaz to Yaman with this instruction, " Invite them (the inhabitant of Yaman) to become Witness that there is no God other than Allah and that I am His messenger. If they accept this, then tell them that Allah has made *Salah* obligatory for the five times a day. If they obey, then tell them that Allah has imposed obligatory *Zakah* on their property to be taken from those, among them, who are wealthy and to be distributed to those, among them, who are needy ".

(Bukhari, Ktabuz-Zakah No. 1306)

The collection and distribution of *Zakah* is a responsibility of the Islamic state. This bears out from the following Quranic injunctions.

Of their goods take Alms (Sadaqa)
That so thou mightest
Purify and sanctify them.

(IX : 103)

Sadaqa in the above verse means *Zakah*. According to Imam Raazi " The purpose of this ve se is to take *Zakah* from the wealthy. Many jurists have based their arguments about the obligation of *Zakah* on this verse and they point out that *Zakah* purifies the property. Some jurists say that injunction given in this verse to take *Zakah* makes it obligatory for the government to receive *Zakah*".[37]

The assertion that appropriation and disbursement of *Zakah* is the duty of the state is also substantiated by the fact that the prophet himself and all the four caliphs used to collect the *Zakah* as the head of state.

In fact, after the death of prophet, some tribes of Arabia refused to pay *Zakah*, then Abu Bakr, the first caliph took the war-path to enforce the law. Bukhari says :

" Abu Bakr said : By God I will fight with the man who made an distinction between *Salah* and *Zakah* Zakah is a right in the property. By God, if they hold back even a rope which they used to give during the regime of the messenger of God, I shall go to war with them ".[38]

Al-Quran has make Zakah compulsory but it does not give the details about the rate of Zakah, exemption limits etc. The details were worked out by the prophet and made obligatory for Muslims. Some of the relevant traditions are given below :

" Abu Saeed Khudri reports that the Messenger of God said : there is no *zakah* in (silver) less than five *oqiah*, in less than five camels. Neither there is *zakah* in less than five *wasq* [39] (of grain or dates).[40]

" The Messenger of God said : Give *Sadaqa*, even on your ornaments ".[41]

" Abu Huraira reports that the Messenger of God said : ....one fifth is due in *Rikaz*".[42]

" Abdullah Bin Umar reports that the Messenger of God said : if some thing is irrigated by sky (rainfall) or natural water falls or the land is itself green, then one tenth is due in it and if some thing is irrigated by well, one twentieth of the produce is due in that ".[43]

" Samra Bin Jandab reports : The Messenger of God used to order us to pay *Zakah* on the goods which we have made for trade ".[44]

" Amr Bin Shoeb reports from his father and he reports from his grandfather : Two women came to the Messenger of God and they had two golden bangles on their hands. He asked them : Do you pay *Zakah* on them ? They replied No. He said : Would you like God to give you two bangles made of fire to wear ? They again replied No. He said " Pay *Zakah* on them." [45]

Explaining these and other injunctions on *Zakah*, Shah Wali Ullah points out four underlying principles for the justification of *Zakah*. [46]

Firstly, *Zakah* is imposed on the wealth and property which grows (*Amwal Namia*). So *Zakah* could be paid out of the growth. This principle is applicable to cattles, agriculture, and trade.

Secondly, *Zakah* is imposed upon the rich and those who have amassed wealth as they have ability to pay.

Thirdly, *Zakah* is imposed on un-earned wealth (*Amwal Nafia*) such as hidden treasures and mineral wealth.

Fourth, the purpose of *Zakah* is to impose some tax upon those who earn.

Table II gives a list of items upon whom *Zakah* has been levied. Originally, *Zakah* was imposed upon gold and silvers, agricultural produce which is storable, (There is no *Zakah* on perishable agricultural products such as vegetables) [47] and cattles. The impositioa of *Zakah* on other items have been worked out by the *fiqh* experts. However, it seems appropriate to mention a few principles which are generally followed. *Zakah* is payable only once a year and it is necessary for the assessee to hold the property for the whole year. No *Zakah* is due upon goods and the house in which one lives in. Similarly, the instruments which are used in the productive process are exempted from *Zakah*. However, *Zakah* would be imposed upon the final goods manufactured for trade.[48]

In case of Mineral products, there seems to be some disagreement. Some modern scholars like Maudoodi consider that 2½ % is due in Minerals.[49] How ever, the traditional opinion is that one fifth is due in Minerals. Some time it is referred to as *Rikaz*. Though literally *Rikaz* refers to burried and hidden treasure during *Jahiliah* (pre Islamic period in Arabia), it has also been used for minerals :

> " It was asked : Oh Messenger of God !
> What is *Rikaz* ? He said, ' The Gold
> and Silver which God has created
> in the earth on the day of creation".[50]

Abu Yusuf points out :

" The Fifth is taken from any quantity of minerals, even if it is less in weight than minimum 200 *dirhams* of silver or 20 *mithqal* of gold because

minimum apply to *Zakah* levies whereas mineral founds are considered as spoil." [51]

Similarly, one fifth is also due from the produce of the sea [52] although Maudoodi thinks that *Zakah* should be imposed on them as per the rules of trade-goods.[53]

2. *Ushr* :

The literal meaning of *Ushr* is one tenth. Technically, it is used for the *Zakah* imposed on the agricultural produce. The authority to impose this tax comes directly from *Al-Quran* :

Eat of their fruit
In their season, but under
The dues that are proper
On the day that the harvest
is gathered.

(VI : 141)

The rate of *Ushr* was also determined by the prophet himself. According to the tradition narrated by Abdullah Bin Umar, one tenth is due in the agricultural produce if the land is irrigated by rainfall and one twentieth is due if the land is irrigated by well. [54] One difference between *Zakah* and *Ushr* is in the periodicity of assessment. *Zakah* is levied only once a year while *Ushr* is payable at the time of each harvest. If there are more than one harvest in a year, *Ushr* will have to be paid at each harvest. *Ushr* is imposed upon a land which originally belongs to a Muslim *i.e.* No *Ushr* will be imposed upon the lands of Non-Muslims living in the Islamic State.

TABLE II

EXEMPTION LIMITS AND RATE OF ZAKAH ON VARIOUS COMMODITIES

Items	Exemption Limit	Rate of Zakah
1. Gold	20 Mithqal	2½%
Silver	200 Dirham	2½%
2. Ag. Produce at harvest time		
(*a*) Irrigated by rain	30 maunds (5 wasq)	10%
(*b*) Irrigated by well	30 maunds (5 wasq)	5%
3. Cattles	Different number of or defferent catles	Defferential Rates
4. Paper Currency	Worth of 20 Mithqal Gold	2½%
5. Trade Goods	Worth of 20 Mithqal Gold	2½%
6. Ornaments	Worth of 20 Mithqal Gold	2½%
7. Shares	Worth of 20 Mithqal Gold	2½%
8. Minerals	No exemption	20%
9. Produce of the sea	No exemption	20%

3. *Kharaj* :

(a) *Justification of Kharaj*:

Kharaj is a land tax imposed upon *Dhimmis* (Non-Muslims living in tl Islamic State as protectorates). The origin of this tax is traced back to the regim of the Prophet and Umar the second caliph. When *Khaybar* was conquered, it reported by Ibn Umar, that Prophet had distributed the half of the territory amo the Muslims who participated in war and the rest half remained in the hands original owners on the condition that they will pay an agreed proportion of tl produce to the Islamic State.[55] In this connection, Abu Yusuf states the followi Traditions :

" Muslim al-Hizami-Anas Bin Malik : The Prophet used to hand over the Jews their lands in *Khybar* on a *Musaqa* agreement, for half of crop. He used to send to them 'Abd Allah bin Rawaha to estima the two halves of the yield and give them the option of taking whi ever half they wanted, or he would ask them to estimate the two halv and give him the option. They used to say : On such treatme Heaven and Earth are based."[56]

' Al-Hajjaj b. Arta-Nafi'—Abd Allah b. Umar : The prophet gave the lan of *Khayber* to its owner on condition that they give him half of its cro It remained in their possession during his lifetime and that of Abu Ba and during the most of the reign of Umar when later evicted them ." 5'

Abu Obaid explain that *Musaqat* system of taxation means that right of lea for cultivation is conferred in return of some agreed upon proportion of the tota produce. If there is some production, then the agreed share is due. However, there is no production, due to natural calamity or some other cause, then nothi is due. [58].

During the regime of the second Caliph Umar, the lands of Iraq (*Al-Swa* were conquered. Some companions of the prophet asked him to distribute tl land as the spoils of war but he did not agree. Arguing that there must also a share of future generations. Umar declared the lands to be *Fay* for Muslims. (The explanation of *Fay* follows in one of the next sections). This was agree upon and he did not distribute the land. Instead, he imposed *Kharaj* on the lanc

(b) *The distinction between Kharaj and Ushr* :

The *Kharaj* and *Ushr* are two separate concepts of Islamic taxes. There a quite a few differences between them :

(*i*) *Kharaj* is imposed by the state under any specific agreement. *Ushr* imposed by God, and its rate has been fixed by the Prophet.

(*ii*) The rate of *Ushr* cannot be changed as it has been determined by the Prophet. However, the rate of *Kharaj* can be altered at the discretion of the government, if the need be. In this connection, Abu Yusuf writes :

" Umar bin al-Khittab imposed a fixed amount of money or a fixed quantity of produce as *Kharaj* tax and did not introduce the proportional share-tax system, not because he had no right to reduce the taxes, but because he was satisfied from the report of his representatives, Hudhayfa and Uthman, that the land was able to pay those fixed taxes. Had they reported that the land could not bear such taxes he would have reduced them, as this was the reason for his enquiries".[60].

(*iii*) *Ushr* is a tax on agricultural produce at the time of each harvest, payable, possibly, several times during a year while *Kharaj* is a land tax payable only once in a year.

(iv) If there is no production, *Ushr* will not have to be paid. Not so with the *Kharaj*, which has to be paid at the time when it is due, irrespective of the fact whether the land has been cultivated or not.

(*v*) *kharaj* is imposed on the total land available for cultivation under the ownership of *Dhimmis*. It includes both, cultivated and uncultivated land. Abu Yusuf throws further light on this subject :

".... We are told that in those times, the greater part of the land was cultivated and only a minor part was not, and that the cultivated areas together with the small uncultivated parts were classified as one category. *The tax thus levied on cultivated and uncultivated land equally was intended to force the owners of the uncultivated parts to develop and cultivate them*".[61]. (emphasis added)

The underlined portion of Abu Yusuf's quotation indicates that *Kharaj* has the capability of performing the function of a modern tax. It can be, and in fact, it was (as Abu Yusuf has suggested), used, as a lever to influence the farmer's decision to cultivate or not to cultivate. By contrast, this can not be said about *Ushr* which is taken after the crop has been harvested.

(*vi*) The available evidence also suggest that ability to pay will be a major criterion upon which the amount of *Kharaj* will be decided. Abu Obaid observes :

"......This is our stand regarding the imposition of *Jaziya* and *Kharaj* *i.e. Jaziya* and *Kharaj* will be levied in accordance with the ability to bear of Dhimmis. Thus, neither excessive burden would be put upon the Dhimmis nor the treasury of the Islamic State would suffer. There is no predetermined rate for the amount of *Jaziya* and *Kharaj*." [62].

Similarly, No *Kharaj* was ever imposed upon residential areas and dwellings.[63]

(c) *Muqasma Taxation* (*Kharaj-e-Muqasma*)

(PROPORTIONAL LAND TAX)

Yet another system of *Kharaj* was prevailent during the early Islamic period. This is known as *Muqasma Kharaj*, in which the land is leased out to cultivators on the basis of a certain proportional share of the output. Abu Yusuf considers that a fixed amount of *Kharaj*, whether it is fixed in kind or in money terms may not be just to either party (government or cultivators) in different situations. His argument which shows good economic insight for medieval period is worth quoting at length :

> " I, therefore, find that a rate of tax composed of a fixed amount of *dirhams*, at the discretion of the tax-collector, has its defects for the Treasury as for the taxpayers. As to the fixed measure of crops, it may happen that the price of the crops is exceedingly low in a certain year and the authorities will therefore not be ready to accept it, preferring to collect the alternative cash payment. Decreased tax incomes from cheap crop may weaken the army by not providing the frontier posts with sufficient supplies. On the other hand, if the price of the crops rises the authorities will not be justified in accepting cash payment and forefailing the surplus to be gained by opting for the fixed measure of crops....on the other hand, the system of imposing only a fixed cash payment on tax is also not-without its difficulties, which are two measures to be explained here."[64].

However, the reasons he gives for price fluctuation would make any modern economist hardly resist his smile :

> " The fluctuation of prices, low or high, has no known rules which can be relied on, but it is a matter from Heaven and not controlled by us. Low prices are not caused by a surplus of crops nor high prices by the scarcity of them but are from God. Sometimes there may be a surplus of crops and the price is high, and sometimes there may be a scarcity and the price low."[65]

Instead of a fixed amount of *Kharaj*, whether in cash or in kind. Abu Yusuf recommends a system of *Muqasam* a taxation whose rates have been shown in the Table III.

TABLE III

MUQASMA TAXATION SUGGESTED BY ABU YUSUF

Crop	Type of Irrigation	Tax as a share of crop	Tax as % of crop
1. Wheat, Barley ..	.. Naturally Irrigated ..	2/5	40%
2. Wheat & Barley ..	.. Artificially Irrigated ..	3/10	30%
3. Palm Trees Vinyards, Orchards	.. Not specified	1/3	33.3%
4. Summer Crops ..	.. Not specified	1/4	25%

SOURCE : Compiled from Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation by Ben Shemesh entitled '*Taxation in Islam*' Vol. III. London Luzag, & Co. Ltd. (1969) p. 101.

In this connection, Abu Yusuf mentions the following cannons of taxation :—

(*i*) Only the specified share of crops is due as tax. " Nothing should be taken on the basis of a guess or on a valuation based on market price. "[66]

(*ii*) "The valuation should be based on a just appraisal, overcharging the taxpayer nor damaging the authorities."[67]

(*iii*) "What is due should be taken in kind, but if convenient for both sides the yield may be sold and its price divided proportionally between taxpayer and authorities. "[68]

(d) The Distinction between Ushr & Kharaj Lands :

In early Islamic period land was distinguished on the basis of type of taxation, *i.e.*, whether the land owners pay *Ushr* or *Kharaj*. The land upon whose owners *Ushr* is imposed is Called *Ushr land*, and the land upon whose owners *Kharaj* is imposed is called *Kharaj* land. The disagreement and controversy crepped in early in the operation of these principles, particularly in the case of land conquered by force (*Anwa*)] It is our endeavour to give a brief account of this controversy and mention those principles, upon whose basis, any land is declared *Ushr land* or *Kharaj land*. Needless to say that how this controversy is resolved will have significant implications for the Treasury (*Baitul Mal*) as *Ushr* involves a smaller proportion of the agricultural produce as tax in comparison of *Kharaj*.

(i) *Ushr land*:

All lands whose owners, become Muslims by their own will shall become *Ushr Lands*.[69] Abu Obaid, accepting this further adds that no thing shall be taken from them other than *Ushr*.[70] All such persons shall retain their complete proprietory rights on land as well as right to transfer their ownership rights either by sale or by inheritance.[71]

(ii) *Kharaj lands* :

On the basis of available evidence, it can be suggested that *Kharaj lands* come into existence by two methods :—

(1) If the land is conquered by peaceful means, through a treaty, then land owners shall pay the land tax (*Kharaj*) which is mutually agreed upon. [72]

(2) The land conquered by force is subject to difference of opinion. One group argues that this land should be distributed as per the rules of the distribution of the booty, *i.e.*, one fifth should be retained by the state and the rest fourth fifth should be distributed among those who participated in the holy war.[73] Abu Yusuf is of the opinion that, in case this is done, the distributed land would become *Ushr land*. [74] The other group argues that this type of conquered land would become

Fay for the Islamic State. Consequently these lands would be left in the possession of *Ahle-e-al-Dhimma* and *Kharaj* would be imposed. This was the course of action adopted by the second Caliph Umar when Iraq (*Al-Swad*) was conquered.

(iii) ***Proprietory Rights on Kharaj Lands***:

The evidence about the proprietory rights on *Kharaj* lands is most often conflicting and confusing. The confusion is also result of the fact that the verdict of the experts of Islamic jurisprudence has been one way but the actual practice of the people has been the other way. It is not clear whether *Dhimmis* will have right to sell their *Kharaj* lands or not. Some evidence suggests that it could not be done while some other evidence points to the fact that it is exactly what was going on. For instance Abu Yusuf is very categorical when he says:

" No one has a right to convert *Kharaj* land into *Ushr* land or *vice versa*. It is illegal for an owner of *Ushr* land who buys a tract of *Kharaj land* adjoining his land to include it in his *Ushr* land by paying the *Ushr* tax for it or *vice versa*. "[76]

Abu Obaid also reports certain traditions which support the position that *Kharaj lands* should not be bought :—

Hasan Reports that Umar said, " Do not buy the lands and slaves belonging to *Dhimmis* " Abu Aquil says that I asked Hasan " Why not ?" He answered, " Because they are *Fay* for Muslims. "[77]

Shabi reports that Utba bin Farqad bought a piece of land in the Vicinity of Farat to cultivate vegetables. When this transaction was reported to Umar, he asked Utba, " from whom have you bought this land? " He answered " From the owner of the land. " " When Muhajirin and Ansar (Muhajirin and those who migrated from Mecca to Medina, and Ansar are those used to live in Medina and helped Muhajirin) assembled around Umar, then pointing towards them he said " These people are the onwers of that land. Tell me, have you bought that land from any of them ?" Utba said, " No ", Then Umar instructed him, "Return this piece of land to the person from whom you bought it and get your money back. "[78] (Parenthesis mine).

Some experts argue that if some area was conquered not by the use of force, but through a peaceful treaty (*sulh*), then sale and purchase of land is permissible.[79] Some experts, prominent among them are Abd-Allah Bin Masood, a companion of the Prophet and Umar Bin Abdul Aziz and Sufiyan Suri among the Tabieen[80], hold that sale and purchase of *Kharaj* land, even if conquered by force, is permissible.[81] Abu Obaid reports : "Sufiyan Suri says : If Imam (The leader) restores the original inhabitant of land conquered by the Military power, then they become the actual owners of land. They will have the right of inheritance as well as the right to sell."[82] (Parenthesis mine).

There is also difference of opinion on the issue that if the owner of a *Kharaj land* (a *Dhimmi*) accepts Islam as his religion, then whether he will pay *Kharaj* or *Ushr*. One opinion is that *Kharaj* land shall always remain *Kharaj land*. Then muslim owner will have to pay *Kharaj* and *Ushr* will not be payable.[83] The other opinion is that muslim owner of a *Kharaj land* will have to pay both *Kharaj* and *Ushr*. The arguement in favour of this position is that *Ushr* and *Kharaj* are two separate taxes imposed for two different purposes. Hence the payment of one tax does not exonerate the tax-payer from other dues. However, there is hardly any evidence in Islamic history when *Kharaj* and *Ushr* were imposed simultaneously. Similarly, there is difference of opinion about the case of a *Dhimmi* controlling an *Ushr land*. In this connection five different positions are stated (i) It shall continue to be an *Ushr land*. (ii) It shall become *Kharaj land*. (iii) Nothing shall be due on this land as *Ushr* can be imposed only upon Muslims. (iv) The *Dhimmi* shall be asked to sell his *Ushr land* to any Muslim as his continued possession of such land will cause financial loss to *Baitul Mal*. Traditions have been cited in support of each of these positions by Abu Obaid.[84]

However, the majority of experts on Islamic *fiqh* seem to agree on the following positions :[85]

(1) The *Kharaj land* shall remain so, if the *Dhimmis* accepts Islam as their religion.

(2) The *Kharaj land*, if bought by a Muslim, shall not become *Ushr land* and the Muslim owner of *Kharaj land* will have to pay *Kharaj*.

(3) The *Ushr land*, if bought be an *Ahle-Al-Dhimma*, shall become *Kharaj land* as *Ushr* can be imposed on non-Muslims.

(4) All *Iqta* given by the Caliphate (the Islamic State) shall be regarded as *Ushr land*.

(5) Caliphate shall become owner of all land which is not claimed by anybody or if dying person, Muslim or non-Muslim has no heir. All such land, whether sold by State or given free to Muslims, shall become *Ushr land*.

4. *Jaziya* (Poll Tax) :

Jaziya is a poll tax levied upon those non-muslim people of the book and pagans of non-Arab origin who do not want to become muslim but want to live under the protection of the Islamic State, thus becoming *Ahl-Al-Dhimma* (protectorate). The authority to impose *Jaziya* is derived directly from *Al-Quran*:

> Fight those who believe not
> in God, nor the last Day,
> Nor hold that forbidden
> which hath been forbidden
> by God and Apostle,
> Nor acknowledge the Religion

of Truth (even they are)
of the people of the Book,
until they pay the *Jaziya*
with willing submission
And feel them subdued.

(IX : 29)

There is no fixed rate for *Jaziya*. There is evidence suggesting that second Caliph Umar imposed the differential rates of *Jaziya* on *Dhimmis* belonging to different areas. Even, there were different rates of *Jaziya* for *Dhimmis* having different economic status within the same area.[86] No upper or lower limit for *Jaziya* has been determined either. However, it is on the record that ability to pay of *Dhimmis* will be major consideration while deciding the amount of *Jaziya*. The government is also empowered to increase or reduce the rate of *Jaziya* if the situation warrants so. [87]

5. *Khums* (of the booty) :

Literally *Khums* means one-fifth. In technical sense, it refers to one-fifth due to state in the spoils of war. The captured booty is to be devided into five equal parts, one-fifth going to the Islamic State, and the rest four-fifth being distributed among the soldiers who participated in the holy war. This share of the state in the spoil of war has been fixed by *Quran* :

And know that out of
All the booty that ye
May acquire (in war),
A fifth share is assigned
To God and to the Apostle,
And to near relatives,
Orphans, the needy,
And the wayfarer,

(VIII : 41)

Abu Yusuf explains that "this verse, and God knows best, refers to the movable properties captured by Muslims from the pagans, *i.e.*, provisions, arms and animals."[88] Shibli also agrees with this position that this injunction relates to articles and money captured during war and not to conquered land. He also adds that one-fifth allotted to prophet was further devided into five parts and distributed among the prophet, his relatives, orphans, those were needy and the wayfarer.[89]

6. *Fay*

If the Islamic state captures some land without war or imposes *Kharaj* on land and *Jaziya* on people after a war or through a peace treaty than all this

revenue is regarded as *Fay*. *Fay* is considered to belong completely to the *Baitul Mal*. Like *Khums*, the authority for *Fay* comes directly from *Quran*.

What God has bestowed
on His Apostle (and taken
Away) from them—for this
Ye made no expedition
With either cavelry or camerly
But God gives power
To his apostles over
Any He pleases : and God
Has power over all things.
What God has bestowed
On His apostles (and taken
Away) from the people
of the townships—belongs
To God—to His Apostle
And to kindred and orphans
The needy and the wayfarer;
In order that it may not
(Merely) make a circuit
between the wealthy among you.

(LIX : 6, 7)

These verses and two succeeding verses in the same chapter are known as '*verses of the Fay*'. Verses 8 and 9 state that Muhajirs, Ansars and the people who came after them, all have their share in *Fay*. So, the second Caliph cited these verses when he was requested to distribute the Al-swad lands in Iraq. He did not distribute them and instead declared them 'Fay' for Muslims. Consequently Abu Yusuf considers *Kharaj* and *Jaziya* as *Fay*.[90]

7. *Ushoor* (Custom Duty) :

This tax was introduced by the second Caliph—Umar Bin Al-Khattab. No authority is given for this tax in *Quran* nor it was present during the reign of prophet of Islam or first Caliph, Abu-Bakr.[91] Abu Yusuf gives the following rates of custom duty :

> " From goods of a Muslim merchant a quarter of the *Ushr* 2½ per cent, from goods of the *Ahl al-Dhimma* half *Ushr*, 5 per cent and from those of the *Ahl al-Harb* a full *Ushr* 10 per cent of all goods, whose value is not less than 200 *dirhams* or 20 *mithqals*."[92]

Abu Yusuf further says, "The duty collected from Muslim is considered as *Sadaqa*, but what is collected from *Dhimmis* and *Harbis* is considered as *Kharaj* and is treated like the income from *Jaziya*".[93] This evidence leads us to suspicion that Muslim traders were in fact paying *Zakah* as the rate of tax and

exemption limit both are the same. From the available evidence, it is difficult to ascertain whether Muslim merchants had to pay *Ushoor* (custom duty) in addition to what they were paying as *Zakah*.

8. *Sadaqat* :

In classical Islamic literature no distinction has been made between *Sadaqat* and *Zakah*. In *Quran* and *Hadith*, both words are used and sometimes they have been used interchangeably. However, the experts of Islamic *fiqh* make a clear distinction between *Sadaqa* and *Zakah*. According to them, *Sadaqa* is of two types :

(1) Compulsory *Sadaqa* (*wajiba*) such as *Zakah* which one has to pay in any case if his possessions cross a prescribed exemption limit.

(2) Voluntary *Sadaqa* (*Nafila*) which any person may spend to earn the pleasure of God.

It is not necessary for individuals to pay their Voluntary *Sadaqat* to state. However, some people may do so, in the belief that the Islamic government will find more worthwhile ways of spending it. Similarly, Islamic moral code attaches a high value to private spending for the sake of God. Some part of this private expenditure may also accrue to the government.

However, *Sadaqat* and *infaq* cannot be regarded as assured source of revenue for the Islamic government as they are not compulsory but voluntary payments.

9. *Kirael Arz* :

Kirael Arz is the land revenue obtained from the state-owned land. It has been established in the section dealing with property that some lands shall be under the ownership of the state. If the state sells any piece, it shall get the price. If it gives any piece of land as *Iqta*, the land shall become *Ushr land* and state shall be entitled to *Ushr*. However, state shall be free to lease out the land as per agreement and will be entitled to rent agreed upon.[94]

The income from the land revenue of state-woned land can be estimated quite correctly if the amount of land leased out and terms of lease are known.

10. *Other revenue* :

The Islamic State shall become owner of the property in the following cases:[95]

(1) In case any Muslim or *Dhimmi* dies without leaving any legal heir.

(2) In case any *Dhimmi* becomes rebel and escapes to *Dar-Al-Harab*. (Non-Islamic territory).

The income arising out of their properties shall be regarded as other revenue.

11. *Other Taxes* :

In the basic sources, we do not find the trace of any tax other than those mentioned above. It is just possible that in a modern Islamic State, the sources of revenue, which were sufficient in the classical period, may not be sufficient. Hence the query : Is it permissible by the Islamic law to impose taxes other than *Zakah* ?

The evidence which has been collected on this issue provides a basis of further taxation if the need be. It is reported in *Trimizi* that :

> Fatima Bint Qais reports that the Messenger of God said, "There are rights in property other than *Zakah*." Then he recited the following verse of *Quran*.[96]
>
> It is not righteousness
> That ye turn your faces
> Towards East or West ;
> But it is righteousness—
> To believe in God
> And the Last Day
> And the Angels,
> And the Book,
> And the Messengers;
> To spend of your substance
> out of love for Him
> For your kin,
> For orphans,
> For the needy,
> For the wayfarer,
> For those who ask
> And for the ransom of slaves;
> To be steadfast in prayer
> And practice Regular charity
> To fulfil the contracts
> Which ye have made.
>
> (II : 177)

So the argument can be built on the basis of *Quranic* injuction as well as on the basis of *Sunnah*. Firstly, *Quran* has enumerated the heads of expenditure upon whom one is asked to spend has preceded the mention of *Zakah*. Thus, it can be deduced that payment of *Zakah* does not pre-empt all this social duties—to take care of kin, orphans, needy, warfarer etc. So it is established that there is a right of all those persons in the wealth. Now, we have to examine whether state can exercise its power to make it obligatory. Secondly, the prophet has been reported to affirm this right. However, *Ibn Maja*, quoting the same source (Fatima Bint Qais) reports this tradition in the following words :

'There is no right in the property other than *Zakah*'.[97]

which is in complete contradiction of *Tirmizi* tradition. However, experts regard the *Ibn-Maja* tradition as doubtful. Some other experts do no doubt the authenticity of either statement and argue that *Tirmizi* tradition will be operative only in emergency conditions while *Ibn-Maja* tradition will hold in ordinary circumstances.[98] *Ibn-Maja* has stated another tradition which says that *Zakah* pre-empts all other rights in the wealth.

> Abu Huraira Reports : " When you paid the *Zakah* out of your wealth, you did your duty."[99]

On the other hand, *Ibn Hazm* writes :

> " It is ordained upon the wealthy of each city to take care of the poor and needy. If the amount of *Zakah* and *Fay* is not sufficient for this, then sultan (or ruler) may compel them to provide necessary food, necessary clothing according to season, and necessary shelter to the needy and poors."[100]

In the light of above evidence, it seems reasonable to infer the following principles :

(1) In case, there is an emergency or if the normal sources of revenue of the government (*Zakah* and *Fay*) do not suffice, and because of paucity of resources the government is not in a position to perform the duties assigned to it by the *Shariah*, then it is permissible for the government to impose taxes other than *Zakah*.

(2) Such new taxes shall be imposed only upon the wealthy persons who could pay them, *i.e.*, ability to pay shall be the major criterion in imposing these taxes.

(3) These taxes should be imposed only for specific purposes such as defence, or taking care of the poor and needy etc. It is not permissible by *Shariah* for the ruler to impose taxes to finance their own luxuries and conspicuous consumption.

(B) Heads of Expenditure :

The Department of expenditure, in an Islamic economy, shall be divided into two separate branches: (i) one branch shall be responsible for the disbursement of *Zakah* and *Ushr* for which the specific heads of expenditure have been determined by *Al-Quran*. (ii) The other branch shall be responsible for spending *Kharaj* and other official income.

Octagonal Expenses :

The heads of expenditure for *Zakah* are determined by the *Quranic* injunction:

> Alms are for the poor
> And the needy, and those
> Employed to administer (the funds)
> For those whose hearts

Have been (recently) reconciled
(To truth); for those in bondage
And in Debt, in the
Cause of God; and for
The wayfarer
(Thus is it) ordained by God
And God is full of knowledge
And wisdom.

(IX : 60)

It is accepted by almost all schools of thoughts that 'alms' (Sadaqat) in the above verse refer to *Zakah* and this verse prescribes eight ways for the disbursement of *Zakah*:[101]. The eight heads of expenditure are : (1) for Poor, (2) for Needy, (3) for administrators of *Zakah* funds, (4) To reconcile hearts, (5) to free slaves, (6) to pay the debts, (7) for the sake of God, (8) for the way farer.

Let us explain each of these heads of expenditure separately :

(i) *For the Poor* :

Poor are those persons who cannot afford to satisfy their requirements by themselves. [102] The Arabic word (*Fuqra*) is quite general and may include any person who does not have regular means of livelihood. The Islamic criterion for poverty is that poor should not have the prescribed minimum wealth. (*Nisab*).[103].

(ii) *For the Needy* :

The Arabic word used for the needy is *Miskeen*. The prophet himself has explained the meaning of this word :

> Abu Huraira Reports : The Messenger of God said, '*Miskeen*' (Needy) is not the mean who begs and people give him a date or two. Instead, *Miskeen* (the needy) is that man who does not own sufficient wealth to satisfy his needs, (apparently) he may not be known to be in need (of help) and he does not ask any body (to help).[104]

Thus needy persons might be having some means of livelihood but it may not be sufficient for their requirements. The *Zakah* may be spent to help such persons

(iii) *Administration of Funds* :

Zakah can be used to give the wages and salaries of *Zakah* collectors and those who keep the account of *Zakah* funds. Thus, it cannot be used for general administrative expenditure. However, the provision of this head, again confirms that collection and disbursement of *Zakah* is a duty of Islamic State.

(iv) *To reconcile hearts* :

Some part of *Zakah* may be spent to reconcile hearts (*Muallifat-ul-Quloob*). In this category two types of persons were included: (i) those who recently came to

the fold of Islam but were not strong enough in their faith, (ii) those pagans who were hostile to Islam. It may be possible that the sympathies of some of the enemies could be won by providing them some gifts. This expenditure was incurred by the prophet himself. However, during the regime of Abu-Bakr, [105] the first Caliph, this item was discarded. The second Caliph Umar also did not revive it. [106] However, some modern scholars like Maudoodi argue that "the consensus arrived at, by the companions of the prophet, was that they did not feel any necessity to spend for the reconciliation of hearts. Their judgement was based upon the conditions prevailing in their time. There is no reasonable ground to infer that consensus of the companions has invalidated this item for ever". [107]

(v) *To Facilitate Freedom of Slaves* :

During Islamic Period, slavery was present. Although slavery was not abolished by Islam, a high value has been attached to the freedom of slaves. The *Zakah* funds may be used in such a manner as to help the slaves achieve freedom. There were two ways to do it: (i) to pay *Zare-Makatib*. This was an agreed amount between the master and slaves, upon payment of which, the master used to agree to free the slaves. The whole or part of this amount may be paid out of the *Zakah* funds. There is consensus among the experts about the validity of this method. Some of them regard this method to be permissible while some concur against it.[108]

Since, slavery has been abolished in the modern world, generally, there would be no necessity to revoke this head of expenditure. However, there may be occasions when it may become imperative to get the prisoners of war freed. In case this happens, it would be proper to meet these expenses out of *Zakah* Funds.

(vi) *To ease the burden of Debt* :

Zakah funds may also be used to help the indebtors to clear their debts. However, the condition therein is that (i) the debtors do not have the resources to clear the debts completely. (ii) If they do clear the debt, their net worth is reduced below the prescribed minimum of wealth. [109] (*Nisab*). It is further added that any one who became indebtor because of drinking, a gambling or other un-Islamic behaviour shall not be helped out of *Zakah* funds unless they promise to give up these habits.[110]

(vii) *For the Sake of God* :

For the sake of God, according to *Hanafis*,[111] in the above verse means *Jihad*.[112] (Holy war). However Abu Yusuf, an eminent scholar of *Hanafi* school includes *Haj* (Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina) also among "For the sake of God". He is of the opinion that *Zakah* may be spent to help someone who is going for *Haj* but could not complete his journey for some reasons.[113] In previous cases of the poor, the needy, the slaves, and those in indebtedness, it is established that recipient of *Zakah* should not have wealth equivalent to *Nisab* (*i.e.*, 200 Dirham

of silver or 20 *Mithqal* of gold of an equivalent value thereof). However, in case of those who participate in the holy war the condition of need is not well-established. Imam Fakhruddin Razi, explaining the above verse, writes :

" Imam Shafai, Imam Malik, Imam Ishaq and Abu Obaid take the position that *Zakah* may be given to a person, participating in the holy war (*Jihad*) who is himself wealthy. But Imam Abu Hanifa is of the opinion, it could be given to only those Mujahideen who are needy".[114]

It is reported that major portion of *Zakah* income used to be spent for the purposes of the holy war during the early Caliphate period. K. A. Fariq writes :

" There is strong evidence suggesting that the Messenger of God and Abu Bakr used to spend the major portion of *Zakah* on the military preparations. Like his two predecessors, the Second Caliph, Umar did not think it necessary to spend the whole of *Zakah* on the items suggested by *Quran*. His main objective was to establish the political and economic domination of Islam upon the Non-Muslim nations. To achieve that objective, he used to spend *Zakah* like the spoils of war and *Jazia* to strengthen his military machine".[115]

Then he cites Tibri in support of his assertion :

" Ataa Bin Abi Ribah reports : Umar, after receiving the compulsory *Zakah*, used to spend it on a single item (holy war).[116]

Despite this, some experts of Islamic *Fiqh* attach wider meaning to " for the sake of God" [117] and argue that these words are quite general and can be interpreted for any good work with which God may be pleased. Imam Razi has also written :

" Some experts of *Fiqh* permit that under the head of 'for the sake of God' : *Zakah* can be used for any good work, *e.g.*, providing the coffin to the dead, construction of forts for the holy war, and construction of mosques, etc. Because the words of *Quran* 'for the sake of God' are general in nature ".[118]

(viii) *For the Way farer* :

The last head of expenditure, prescribed by *Quran* regarding the disbursement of *Zakah*, is for the way farer. If there is any traveller, who might be well-off at his home, has run into financial difficulties on the way, he might be helped from the *Zakah* funds.

Some other principles for disbursement of Zakah :

In the above, the details of the octagonal expenses which has been prescribed by *Quran* for the disbursement of *Zakah*, has been given. However, some details have been worked out by the experts of Islamic *Fiqh*, a brief description of which

may not be out of place at this juncture. It is all the more necessary in order to clearly delineate the role of the institution of *Zakah* in the Islamic economy :

(1) *Zakah* can be spent only upon Muslims. Non-Muslims do not pay *Zakah*, nor do they have right in the disbursement of *Zakah*.[119]

(2) The *Zakah* of each city should be spent within the city except in dire emergency or in the absence of any worthy *Zakah* recipient.[120]

(3) It is not allowed for the well-off persons to become *Zakah*—recipients.[121]

(4) It is not necessary for the government to spend the whole amount of *Zakah* on all the eight items mentioned by *Quran*. The government has the right to determine its priorities. It may choose to spend the whole amount upon a single category or select a few of them.[122]

(5) The administrators of *Zakah* funds will be paid according to works they have performed. However, the government will see to it that total wages paid to administrators of *Zakah* funds does not exceed half of the total amount of *Zakah* collected. If the collected amount is so little that administrative expenditure to collect *Zakah* exhausts it, then either staff be reduced or wage be cut down in such a manner that cost of collection is less than an equal to half of the total funds.[123]

(6) It is necessary that *Zakah* recipient should be made owners of *Zakah* given to them. Control on that part of wealth, which is being given as *Zakah*, by the recipient is necessary. This is inferred from the *Quranic* junction. (Give *Zakah*). It is not enough that *Zakah*-payer spends the amount of *Zakah* and the benefit reaches to *Zakah*-recipients. From this, it has been deduced that, expenditure of *Zakah*, on public roads, wells, parks, another amenities, which can not be made the individual ownership of the *Zakah*-recipients, is not permissible. On the other hand, buying books and giving them to the needy students, buying food-grains and giving them to poor is perfectly legitimate as the recipient becomes the actual owner of these things.[124]

Expenditure of other Incomes (Fay) :

Expenditure of incomes other than *Zakah* and *Ushr* has been left to the discretion of the government and there is no specific injunctions controlling this type of expenditure. *Fay* incomes (Jazya and Kharaj) will be used for meeting all expenses of the government such as administration, defence and welfare expenditure. However, the expenditure of incomes other than *Zakah* will follow the general instructions. Mainly, it shall be spent on the welfare of people of Islamic State. As far as *Fay* is concerned, it can be spent upon the welfare of Non-Muslims (Dhimmis) living in the Islamic State as well. The available evidence suggests that Islamic States, at times, has been responsible for providing military scholarships, educational scholarships, giving monthly ration of foodgrains, etc.[125] The

basic purpose is to enhance the public welfare and Islamic government should not leave any stone unturned to achieve this goal. In order to achieve this goal and make the efficient use of resources available to him, the Caliph (or leader of the government) has also been given authority to transfer funds from one department to the other, or to borrow from one department and spend upon the heads of the other department.[127]

IV. ISLAMIC BUDGET FOR PAKISTAN :

On February 10, 1979 General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan announced in the National Assembly that *Zakah* and *Ushr*, *inter alia*, were incorporated into the law.[128] He also announced that interest bearing loans would be done away within three years. Thus, the President of Pakistan has set in motion the process of making Pakistani economy, an Islamic economy. In the previous two sections, we have surveyed the structure of Islamic economy and its financial system. This section will be focused upon working out the implications of making these injunctions operative in a country like Pakistan.

Pakistan is an underdeveloped country with a *per capita* National Income of $ 129.00 per year and a population of 65 million people.[129] In 1978-79, proposed budget of the federal government made a provision of 28,591.3 million rupees as gross revenue. Out of it Rs. 3,694·3 million were granted in aid to the provincial governments, leaving net federal revenue to Rs. 24,897·2 million. The non-developmental expenditure accounts for Rs. 24,221.8 million, leaving a surplus of Rs. 675.4 million for development expenditure on capital account.[130]

Table IV gives the structure of taxation of Pakistan at present a major portion

TABLE IV

STRUCTURE OF TAXATION IN PAKISTAN 1978-79

Item	Total Receipts (in Million Rs.)	As a percentage of gross revenue
Tax Receipts	21,896.8	76.5%
(a) Custom	9,085.0	31.7%
(b) Excise duty	6,836.6	23.9%
(c) Income-taxes	2,917.1	10.2%
(d) Ag. Income-tax	250.0	0.8%
(e) Sales tax	1,700.0	5.0%
(f) Other taxes	1,108.1	3.8%
Non-tax Receipts :		
(i) Interest Receipts	4,090.6	23.4%
(ii) Post & Telegraph Currency & Minl. Defence Receipts & other Receipts	2,404.1	8.4%

SOURCE: Compiled from : The Budget in Brief 1978-79, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad. P. 60.

of the Gross revenue, 76·5 per cent. to be exact, is obtained by the tax receipts. The most important among them is custom duty which alone accounts for 31·7 per cent. of the gross revenue. Next comes excise duty which accounts for approximately 24 per cent. of gross revenue with income taxes, occupying the third position with a contribution of 10·2 per cent. About 6·0 per cent. is contributed by the sales tax. Thus, four major taxes account for about 72 per cent. of the gross revenue. The significance of agricultural income tax is negligible. Among the non-tax receipts, the most significant are the interest receipts which alone account for 14% of gross revenue and 61 per cent. of non-tax receipts. After the establishment of Islamic Economy Pakistan will have to forego this income.

Not only that but the whole system of public revenue and expenditure will have to undergo a substantial change. Only those taxes could be retained for which the *Shariah* could provide a justification. All other taxes will have to be abandoned. Similarly, the expenditure policy will also have to be adjusted. In fact, much will depend upon the structure and behaviour of the private economy. If the private economy is also being run in accordance with the Islamic injunctions, then an appropriate expenditure policy will be evolved automatically. Some idea of what type of problems may arise out of such an attempt may be had by the exercise which is being presented here, *i.e.*, preparing an Islamic budget for Pakistan.

(a) Calculation of Ushr :

First problem to be resolved is that of status of agricultural land in Pakistan according to *Shariah*. In this study, keeping in view the declaration made by the President of Pakistan in the National Assembly, it has been assumed that all land is *Ushr* land, which is a rather unrealistic assumption, at last on two counts : (i) firstly all agricultural land is not owned in Pakistan by Muslims alone. Some land must also be in the ownership of Non-Muslims upon which *Kharaj* should be levied. However, because of non-availability of such data we have to be content with this loose assumption. (ii) secondly, even the land owned by Muslims can be *Kharaj lands* if the land is considered to be the ownership of the state. (*Araze Hauz*). There is evidence to the effect that both these views are held by experts. Mufti Mohd. Shafi argues that the lands which were abandoned by the Non-Muslims at the time of the partition of the Indian subcontinent became the ownership of the government (Baitul-Mal).[131] Such lands, if allotted by the government to Muslims would become *Ushr lands*. The lands whose owners accepted Islam by their own will would also be *Ushr lands*. But all other lands would be *Kharaj lands*. Rafi-Ullah Shahab also takes the same position and considers that agricultural land in Pakistan is *Kharaj lands*.[132] However, setting aside this basic issue, and assuming that all land is *Ushr land*, different figures could be worked out under different assumptions. It has been established in section III that the rate of *Ushr* varies mainly on the basis of type of irrigation. If it is irrigated by rainfall and natural waterfall the rate imposed is 10 per cent. of the agricultural produce. However, if land is irrigated by well, then only half *Ushr* is imposed. To compute

Ushr in an accurate manner it will have to be decided that from what type of water the land is irrigated. Nevertheless, due to non-availability of such detailed data, *Ushr* can be calculated only on the basis of certain assumptions as shown in the Table V.

If it is assumed that all land is rainfed, then 10 per cent. of the agricultural produce shall be taken as *Ushr* and it will amount to Rs. 2518·05 million. On the other hand, if all land is assumed to be irrigated by well and artificial irrigation system then only 5 per cent. of the produce shall be

TABLE V

AMOUNT OF *USHR* UNDER DIFFERENT ASSUMPTIONS

Assumption	Rate of *Ushr*	Amount (Rs. in Million)
1. Assuming all land is unirrigated (rainfed) ..	1/10 of total produce	2518 .05
2. Assuming all land is irrigated by well ..	1/20 of produce	1259 .03
3. Assuming land giving 80% of produce is irrigated and rest is rainfed	1/20 of the 80% 1/10 of the 20%	1511 .62

SOURCE : Computed on the basis of the data given in the statistical Appendix I.

taken as *Ushr* and this gives a figure Rs. 1259·03 million. It may seen that both of these assumption take us to an extreme position. Though, detailed irrigation data is not available to us we do know that "about 80 per cent. of the agricultural production of West Pakistan (New Pakistan) comes from the Indus Basin, where agriculture depends on irrigation based on world's largest canal system established long before Independence. The rest of the output is produced by rainfed agriculture, mainly in the north".[133] Thus, in the third variant, 5 per cent. rate is applied on the 80 per cent. of the agricultural output and 10 per cent. rate is applied on the rest 20 per cent. of the agricultural produce. This gives the figure Rs. 1511·62 million. Since, this figure is based upon comparatively more reasonable assumptions, in all future calculations, only this figure would be used. The calculations of *Ushr* is based upon the production of major crops only for which the production and price data is given in the statistical Appendix I.

(b) Calculation of Zakah :

Calculation of *Zakah* would also require more elaborate data about each person who is subject to *Zakah, e.g.*, total wealth, savings, hoardings, etc. In the absense of such detailed data, we have to rely on macro-economic method. The amount of *Zakah* on real assets, which has been shown as item (b) on revenue side

of the Islamic Budget (Table VI) has been calculated from the National Income accounts at market prices. The method of calculation is as follows :

Every component of GNP at the market prices has been multiplied by the capital output ratio of each sector to obtain the estimated capital employed in the sector. The *Zakah* at the rate of 2½ per cent. *per annum* is applied on the estimated capital with the following qualifications (i) Agriculture has been left out as *Ushr* has already been applied to the agricultural produce. (ii) No *Zakah* is applied on dwellings. *Zakah* is not due on the personal dwelling in which one lives in. Even if one owns more than one house and rents them out, then *Zakah* will be applicable upon the income he earns, if it exceeds the prescribed minimum (*Nisab*) and is retained for more than a year. Since the break-up on income from dwellings is not available on these lines, it has not been included in the calculations. (iii) *Zakah* has also not been applied on public administration and defence for the obvious reason that these belong to the government. (iv) These calculations are based on the assumption that each earning member has wealth more then tne prescribed minimum, *i.e.*, no exemption limits have been worked out. The amount of *Zakah* from the real assets which works out to be Rs. 4306·24 million will probably be reduced considerably if exemption limits are incorporated.

TABLE VI

ISLAMIC BUDGET FOR PAKISTAN—1978-79

Variant-A

(In million Rs.)

Revenue		Expenditure	
1. Zakah Receipts		Interest on External dept.	2,035.4
(*a*) Ushr	1511.62	Repayment of Deptt.	2,677.7
(*b*) Zakah on red assets ..	4306.24	Administrative Deptt.	2,050.2
		Beneficient Deptt.	654.2
(*c*) Zakah on monetary assets ..	982.34	Grants to Provinces	1,773.1
		Defence Services	10,160.0
Total Zakah Receipts ..	6800.20	Subsidies	1,396.3
		Other expenditure	1,860.0
2. Non Zakah tax Receipts Customs	9,085.0		
		Total Non Dev. Expenditure	22606.7
Taxes on Income	2,917.1	Deficit on Revenue Account	1200.4
Tax Receipts	12,002.1		
3. Commercial Receipts :			
Post Office, T. & T.	414.6		
Civil Admn.	140.7		
Currency & Mint	415.0		
Defence Receipts	222.6		
Extraordinary Receipts ..	695.1		
Other Receipts	714.0		
Total Commercial	2,604.0		
Receipts Gross Revenue ..	21,406.3		

(c) **Zakah on Monetary assets :**

It is established by the experts that currency notes are subject to *Zakah.*[134] Similarly, it is also well established that bank deposits are subject to *Zakah.*[135] There will be *Zakah* on loans if they are kept for one year or invested in trade.

TABLE VII

ISLAMIC BUDGET FOR PAKISTAN 1978-79

Variant-B

Revenue		Expenditure	
1. Zakah Receipts :		As in the variant-A Table VI.	
Ushr	1,511 .62		
Zakah on real assets	4,306 .24	Total Non-Dev. Expenditure	22,606 .7
Zakah on money asset ..	982 .34	Deficit on Revenue Account	8,454 .3
Total Zakah Receipts	6,800 .20		
2. Non Zakah Tax Receipts :			
Custom duty	1831 .1		
Income-tax	2917 .1		
Total	4,748 .2		
3. Commercial Receipts :			
Post Office, T. & T.	416 .6		
Civil Admn.	140 .7		
Currency & Mint	415 .0		
Defence Receipts	222 .6		
Extra ordinary Receipts ..	695 .1		
Other Receipts	714 .0		
Total Commercial Receipts ..	2,604 .0		
Gross Revenue	14,152 .6		

Personal loans which have been raised for consumption purposes and are spent, are not subject to *Zakah.*[136] *Zakah* on monetary assets has been worked out in the following manner : The total money deposits in commercial banks of

Pakistan, time deposits with State Bank of Pakistan and Post Office saving bank were to the order of 39,923·8 million rupees.[137] Out of which the *Zakah* at the rate of 2½ per cent. is Rs. 982·345 million.

Thus, the total amount of *Zakah* computed turns out to be Rs. 6800·2 million which is 5 percent of GNP. With this two variants of Islamic budget have been worked out.

(d) **Islamic Budget—Variant-A** :

On the revenue side of the budget, total receipts could be divided into three categories :

(*i*) *Zakah* receipts.

(*ii*) Non-*Zakah* Tax receipts.

(*iii*) Commercial Receipts (or Non-*Zakah* non-tax receipts).

The justification and computation of *Zakah* receipts has been discussed above. In the case of Non-*Zakah* tax receipts, two major taxes, namely custom duty and income taxes have been retained. The reason to include custom duty is obvious. The tax is found even in Islamic system of taxation. Since, there is scope of changing the traditional rates of custom taxes, in the variant-A, present level of custom duty has been retained. The rationale of retaining income taxes is as follows :

The available evidence suggests (as it has been shown in the section III, sub-section A. 11) that additional taxes could be imposed if the amount of *Zakah* and *Fay* does not suffice for the expenditure of the government. However, the major criterion in taxation will be ability to pay. Thus, some justification, if any, could be given for direct taxes according to Islamic cannons of taxation. But no such claim could be made for indirect taxes, such as sales taxes and excise duty which are to be paid out of the pockets of even poorest among the population.

The commercial receipts amount to Rs. 2,604 million. It is assumed that government shall continue to perform these functions such as post and telegraph, currency and mints, civil administration and will get the usual receipts out of them. However, the government shall have to forego the interest receipts to the order of Rs. 4090·6 million whichi s a substantial earning and accounts for 14 per cent. of gross revenue in the present budget for 1978-79.

Thus the structure of taxation in Pakistan under Islamic system would resemble to the following :

Zakah receipts	31·76 of Gross Revenue
Non-*Zakah* Tax receipts	56·00% of Gross Revenue
Commercial Receipts	12·23% of Gross Revenue

(e) Islamic Budget—Variant-B :

In the variant-B of the Islamic budget *Zakah* receipts and commercial receipts have been kept the same way. The essential change occurs in custom duty which is much smaller in the variant-B in comparison to what it is in the Variant-A. In variant-B the custom duty has been imposed at the traditional rate. The method of arriving at the figure given in budget is as follows :

The evidence suggests that Muslim traders were charged custom duty at the rate of 2½% in the classical period while *Harbi* traders (the traders from Non-Islamic territory) had to pay the duty at the rate of 10%. Keeping this in view, let us assume that all export from Pakistan to the rest of world is in the hands of Muslim traders and apply 2½% duty on export of Rs. 7965.0 million which turns out to be Rs. 199.1 million. Let us also assume that all import from the rest of the world to Pakistan is controlled by *Harabis* (Non Muslims) and apply duty of 10% to imports of Rs. 16320.6 million which turns out to be 1632 million rupees. Thus the custom duty of Rs. 1831.1 million is obtained which is shown in the budget variant-B. It is evident from the figures that imposition of duty at the traditional rates lowers the gross revenue from Rs. 21,406.3 million to Rs. 14,152.6 milion, all loss of Rs. 7253.7 million.

(f) Public Expenditure :

At present more than one quarter of the budget (26.12% of total public expenditure) is devoted to debt services. The details of the debt services are given in the Table IX. The interest payment on internal and external debt constitute 15 per cent. of total expenditure. Out of it, the interest on external debt has been retained in the Islamic budegt. However, the interest on internal debt shall drop out as interest would be declared as illegal. The expenditure on defence is approximately 42 percent of the budget. Thus 68 percent of the budget is exhausted by just two items.

If we assume that present level of public expenditure is maintained, then Islamic Budget (Variant-A) would involve a deficit Rs. 1200.4 million. However, if the Variant-B of the Islamic budget is adopted than the deficit would go up to Rs. 8,454.3 million.

As it is clear from Table VIII that a very small proportion of the national budget is spent upon social and beneficient department (only 2.7% of the total budget). These anomalies will have to be corrected and an expenditure policy be laid down which is more consistent with the spirit of Islamic injunctions.

(g) Level of Poverty and Octagonal Expenses :

Pakistan is one of the most poor countries in the world. This poverty and backwardness is accompanied with sharp inequalities in income and wealth. It was estimated in a recent study that 53.7 percent of rural population was below

poverty live of Rs. 174.0. In urban areas the poverty live was Rs. 206 and 44.1% of urban population was below poverty lives in 1969-70. In 1972 the total population of Pakistan (after the seperation of Bangla Desh) was 65,309,000, and proportion of rural and urban population was 74.6 percent and 25.4 percent respectively. Assuming that relative magnitudes of rural and urban poverty have been constant at the 1969-70 level, if not deteriorated, the total number of poors in the country in 1972 turns out to be :

Rural poor	26,160,492
Urban poor	7,317,513
Total number of poors.	33,478,005

TABLE VIII

NON-DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE IN PAKISTAN

1978-79 Budget

(Rs. in million)

Head	Budget 1978-79	as percentage of total expenditure
Administrative department	2 050·2	8·46
Social and Beneficient Deptt. ..	654·0	2·70
Grants to Provinces	1.773·1	7·32
Dept. Services	6,328·1	26·12
Defence	10,160·0	41·94
Subsidies	1,396·3	5·76
Other Expenditure	1,860·1	7·69
Total :	24,221·8	99·99

SOURCE : *The Budget in Brief* : Govt. of Pakistan, Finance Division, Islamabad. p. 23.

TABLE IX

DEBT SERVICES IN PAKISTAN 1978-79

(Rs. in million)

Head	Budget 1978-79	as a percentage of public expenditure
Interest	3,650·4	15·07%
External Debt	2,035·4	8·40%
Internal Debt	1,615·0	6·66%
Repayment of Dent	2,677·7	11·05%
Total : ..	6,328·1	26·12%

SOURCE : *The Budget in Brief*: Government of Pakistan, Finance Division, Islamabad, p. 26.

The proportion of poor persons, in the total population is 51·2%. Given the structure of public expenditure, it is evident that absolutely nothing is done for the welfare of these people. In fact, welfare department receive only a meagre 2·7% of the total budget.

Under such circumstances, the institution of *Zakah*, if collected and distributed properly, could play a very significant role. These poor persons would be covered under the category of *Fuqara* and *Misakeen* (poor and needy). According to our calculation if the total amount of *Zakah* (Rs. 68,000·2 million) is distributed among all the poors of Pakistan, then every body of them would get a sum of Rs. 201·0 per head once a year, which may be equal to his average annual income. Thus, a beginning could be made to make a dent into the problem of poverty and deprivation. However, before this could be done, some other necessary conditions have to be fulfilled.

First of all, a religions just'fication for the imposition of new taxes, particularly indirect taxes will have to be found. Secondly, the non-Islamic public expenditure, be heavily cut down so that *Zakah* may be spared for the octagonal expenses and income foregone on account of abolition of unjust and un-Islamic taxes does not affect the level of governmental activity. Thirdly, its impact upon people's preferences to work and leisure should also be examined thoroughly. Fourthly, economy should be managed in such a way that new purchasing power given to the poor does not push the prices of certain goods unnecessarily.

(b) Economic Impact of Zakah :

What shall be the economic impact of introduction of *Zakah* in Pakistani economy ? This is an interesting but difficult questions. Much will depend upon ways and means to collect and disburse *Zakah*. At theoretical level, it can be said that introduction of *Zakah* will have significant repercussions in the economy and influence the level of aggregate demand, its composition, and degree of inequality in the distribution of income. The imposition of *Zakah* may also have significant implications for the capital intensity and resource use. The table X presents that data about the ratios of *Zakah* to income in different sectors of Pakistan economy. Since, *Zakah* shall be levied on the basis of productive wealth (capital) employed in each industry, this ratio shall be expected to be different in each sector. Thus the ratio of *Zakah* to income varies from as low as 0.25 percent in wholesale and retail trade to as high as 24.25 percent in electricity and gas production. Next highest ratio is found (16.75 percent) in transport industry, succeeded by large scale manufacturing (9.25 percent). All these industries have very high capital output ratios. Since all industry shall remain largely in the private hands in the Islamic economy (as it is presently in Pakistan), the people will like to economize on the *Zakah* they pay. In fact, the tendency to economize is a part of human nature, also recognized by *Quran* :

> Truly, man was created
> very impatient;
> Fretful when evel touches him
> And niggardly when
> Good reaches him.
>
> (LXX : 19—21)

TABLE X

THE RATIO OF *ZAKAH* TO INCOME IN DIFFERENT SECTORS

Industry	Ratio of *Zakah* to income (in percent)
Agriculture	3.43
Fishing	7.25
Forestry	6.75
Mining & Quarying	7.24
Large Scale Industry	9.25
Small Scale Industry	5.24
Construction	2.00
Electricity, Gas	24.25
Transport	16.75
Wholesale & Retail Trade	0.25
Banking & Insurance	3.75
Services	2.25

SOURCE : Compiled from the data given in Statistical Appendix II.

Thus, the spirit of niggardliness and tendency to economize will lead to lower, the capital output ratios in the sectors in which the ratio of *Zakah* to income is very high. This may result in a more efficient use of a scarce resource like capital and may be regarded as a good omen in a capital—short economy like Pakistan..

The impact of *Zakah* on aggregate demand and its composition will largely be determined by the way the government spends it. However, let us assume, given the social and economic conditions of Pakistan as well as massive level of appalling poverty, that the government decides to spend the whole amount of *Zakah* funds on the poor and the needy among the octagonal expenses. This will raise the purchasing power of those below the poverty line and shall cause significant changes in the composition of aggregate demand with more imphasis upon the wage goods. If the production of wage goods also responds accordingly to this initial stimulus, which will in fact be reinforced every year, a chain reaction may get started which may involve significant changes in the product-mix, pattern of employment, choice of techniques and also influence the overall pattern and rate of economic development. Needless to add, that these are very tentative observation. In fact, the actual pattern of disbursement of *Zakah* funds by the government will have to be studied, and the spending habits of the *Zakah*-recipients will have to be carefully monitored for any scientific study of the impact which the introduction of *Zakah* system might have made upon the economy.

VI. CONCLUSION :

In this paper we have presented a fiscal structure which is in consonance with the Islamic injunctions—An Islamic fiscal structure so to speak, which many countries including Pakistan endeavour to adopt. However, this raises more questions then it resolves.

It is hoped that section IV might have made it clear that (i) many classical sources of revenue are not available to a possibly modern Islamic State. (ii) The income from *Zakah*, in a poor country like Pakistan may not be even that much as it spend on Defence. The expenditure on defence has been a classical outlet for the *Zakah* funds. But even this is not possible in Pakistan when the defence expenditure is upto the order of Rs. 10,160 million while *Zakah* is only Rs. 6,800 million. Consequently, there is need of further taxation.

The evidence from the classical Islamic sources, which has been presented in the section III, at most, can be stretched to saying that there is some scope of levying the direct taxes in case of need. But this is not enough. What about indirect taxation ? These taxes do not work only as a sources of revenue. Their more important function is to provide help in securing adjustments in the allocation of resources. In modern economy the fiscal policy is aimed at correcting the imbalances in allocation of resources, reducting the inequalities in distribution of income, and securing economic stabilization : How these roles will be modified in an Islamic economy ? Would an Islamic economy be a stable one or it

will experience economic fluctuations like tha a capitalist economy ? What about the role of fiscal policy in economic devplopment ? How the resources would be shifted from one sector to the other sector within the private sector, etc.

All these questions remain unanswered at present. The theory of Islamic economics is not so well established as to answer these questions. It can be only hoped that professional economists will watch the experiment in Pakistan with great interest and then come up with the answers for questions some of which have been raised here.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX I

Data used in the Calculation of Ushr in Pakistan

Major crops only 1967—77

Crop	Production (Thousand tons)	Wholesale price per maund	Wholesale price per ton**
1. Wheat	9,000	46 .00	1252 .90
2. Rice	2,598	44 .00	1197 .68
3. Bajra	305	53 .00	1442 .66
4. Jowar	310	42 .98	1170 .00
5. Maize	751	45 .00	1244 .90
6. Barley*	109	40 .00	1088 .80
7. Gram	625	50 .00	1361 .00
8. Mustard*	258	101 .00	2749 .22
9. Tobacco*	103	180 .00	4899 .60
10. Sugar-cane	27,709	5 .50	149 .70
11. Cotton	422	240 .00	6532 .80

SOURCE : *Pakistan Economic Survey* 1976-77, Government of Pakistan, Finance Division Islamabad, Statistical Appendix.

*The production figures for the year 1976-77 are not available. The figures used in the simple average of last 10 years' production.

**The wholesale price per ton has been worked out by multiplying the per maund price with 27·22.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX II

Calculation of Zakah from National Income Accounts

Item	a Income (Million Rs.)	b K/Y	Estimated Capital (Million Rs.)	c *Zakah* (Million Rs.)
1. Agriculture d	44,052	3.8		
Fishing	512	2.9	1,484.8	37.12
Forestry	156	2.7	421.2	10.53
2. Mining & Quarying	1,087	2.9	3,152.3	78.80
3. Manufacturing	20,744			
Large Scale	15,717	3.7	58,152.9	1,453.90
Small Scale	5,025	2.1	10,552.5	263.80
4. Construction	7,315	0.8	5,852.5	146.30
5. Electricity, Gas	1,802	9.2	17,479.4	436.98
6. Transport	8,700	6.7	58,290.0	1,257.25
7. Wholesale & Retail trade ..	19,049	0.1	1,904.9	47.62
8. Banking & Insurance	3,615	1.5	5,422.5	135.56
9. Dwellings e	4,849	23.5		
10. Public Admn. & Defence f ..	10,427	8.8		
11. Services	10,595	0.9	9,535.5	238.38
12. GDP	132,235		Total *Zakah* :	4,306.24
13. Net Factor Inc. ..	+2,995			
14. GNP	135,230			

a. Income is at market prices. The data has been taken from table giving National Income at market prices. *Pakistan Economic Survey* 1976-77, Government of Pakistan, Finance Division, Statistical Appendix, p. 13.

b. K/Y refer to capital output ratio. The data has been taken from Ole David Kohl Norbye: *Development Prospects of Pakistan* universitets for laget : Scandinavian University Books. (1968) Table 45, p.181.

c. Apply 2½% rate of *Zakah* on estimated capital.

d. *Zakah* on agricultural produce has different rates and has been calculated separately.

e. There is no *Zakah* on dwellings, see text for explanation.

f. There will be no *Zakah* on defence installation as it belong to the government.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Al-Quran* is the basic source of Islamic law. Sunnah is the collection of actions and sayings of the Prophet of Islam (P.b.u.h). Besides Quran and Sunnah, *Qyas* (Inefrence) and *Ijma* (Consensus) are other sources of Islamic law. 'Inference' means derivation of a principle about a situation for which no direct guidance is available in Quran or Sunnah, but reference might be available for a similar situation. In case, neither a direct injunction is given in Quran and Sunnah nor inference is possible from any similar situation, the concensus among the experts of Islamic jurisprudence can be regarded as a legitimate source of Islamic law.

2. All quotations from Al-Quran appear in the English translation only. Arabic text of each quotation is given in a separate appendix. The English version is taken from A. Yusuf Ali: *The Holy Quran : Text, Translation and Commentary* (Third Edition : 1938, Chicago, IL. U.S.A.). Reference from Al-Quran is given at the end of each such quotation. The first member refers to the Chapter (Surah) and second member gives the reference of verse in that chapter.

3. Al-Bukhari: Al-Adab-ul-Mufrad. p. 67.

4. *Ibid.* 1. 99.

5. Mishquat : Kitabul Baiyon.

6. Manzer Kahf : "*Fiscal and Monetary Policy in an Islamic Economy*": A theoretical Analysis of a Three Sector Model, Paper presented to the seminar on Fiscal and Monetary Economics of Islam. Mecca, October, 1978 p. (Monograph) p. 2.

7. A similar argument in favour of private property has been advanced by *Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi* : *Masal-e-Milkyat Zamin* (Urdu) Sept. 1969. Markazi Maktaba Jamat-e-Islami, Delhi, pp. 9—26.

8. Imam Abu Obaid Al-Qasim Bin Sallam : *Kitabul Amwal* (vol. I) Urdu translation by Abdur-Rehaman Tahir Surti Idara Tehqeeq-e-Islam, Islamabad, Pakistan. p. 180.

9. *Ibid.* p. 452.

10. *Doomatul Jandal* was a big area containing inhabitation and srveral forts between Tabook and Mota on the way to Syria from Medina. (It was nearer Mota).

11. Imam Abu Obaid Al-Qasim Bin Sallam : *op. cit.* pp. 252-253.

12. *Ibid.* p. 447.

13. "Arwa reports that the Messenger of God had given to Zubair a piece of land, in Khaiber, which contained the trees of dates. Bibal bin Harith states that Massenger of God had given him the whole valley of Aqeeq. Adi bin Hatim reports that Messenger of God has given a piece of land in Yamama to Farat bin Hayyan Ajli." *Ibid.* p. 443.

14. *Ibid.* p. 445.

15. *Ibid.* p. p. 445—447.

16. *Ibid.* p. 461.

17. Yahya Ibn Adam : *Kitabul Khiraj* quoted by Frede Lokkegard : *Islamic Taxation in the classical period*; with special *reference to circumstance in Iraq* Branner Sorch Copen hagen (1950) p. 17.

18. Tabir Bin Abdulah reports that the Messenger of God said, "If somebody inhabitates the uninhabitated land, it shall become his property". quoted by Imam Abu Obaid Al-Qasim Bin Sallam : *op. cit.* p. 456.

19. Rafey Bin Khadij reports that Messenger of God said, "If somebody cultivates another person's land without his permission then he (the unauthorized cultivator) will be given his expenses and he will not be entitled to get anything from the produce of land." Abu Obaid *cp. cit.* p. 458. "Shabi says that if someone raises a structure on other peoples' land and the land owner do not object, then they will be responsible for the cost of the building. But, if they object, then he will have to demolish his structure and he will have to pay the claims for damage also." Abu Obaid *op. cit.* P. 459.

20. Abu Obaid: *Op. cit-* pp. 465—471 also see Frede Lokkegard: *op. cit. pp.* 20—37.

21. "It is reported by Ibn Umar that the Messenger of God had declared. Naqeea, a famous area near Medina as a reserved area for the horses belonging to Muslims." Abu-Obaid *cp. cit.* p. 468.

22. Abu Obaid : *op. cit.* pp. 469-470.

23. Frede Lokkegard *op. cit.* p. 49.

24. Shah Waliullah : *Hajetcellah-el-Beeghah* (with Urdu translation by Abu Mohammed Abdul Haque) Chap. "Min Abwab Ibtagaur Rizq." Noor Mohd. Publishers, Karachi p. 310.

25. Shah Waliullah writes (The basic purpose of economic activity is) to acquire the legal property or to obtain profit by the use of legal property such as raising the cattles by providing them feeder or raising a crop by improving the land and irrigation. But the precondition in that is no one should put other in difficulty which may cause disturbances in the civilization". Waliullah : *op. cit.* p. 310.

26. Hifzur-Rahman : *Islam Ka Iqtisadi Nizam* [Economic System of Islam (Urdu)] second edition, Nadwatul Musannifin, Delhi (1942) p. 252.

27. Hifzur-Rahman: *Ibid.* p. 259.

28. See M. Nejatullah Siddiqui : *Shirkat Aur Mudharabat Ke Sharai Usool* (Urdu) Markazi Maktaba Jamat-e-Islami Hind, Delhi, 1968.

29. M. Nejatullah Siddiqui: *Op. cit.* pp. 150—159. Also Manzar Kahf: *op. cit.* Also see Monzar Kahf : *Saving and Investment function in two Sector Model of Islamic Economy* (*Monograph*) Paper presented at the Seminar on Fiscal and Monetary Economics of Islam. Mecca (1978) pp. 19-20.

30. M. Nejatullah Siddiqui : The economic system of Islam in his "*some Aspects of the Islamic Economy*", Markazi Maktaba Islami, Delhi (1972) p. 132.

31. Monzer Kahf points out that this role to Al-Hisba was given by Ibn Tamiah. He writes, Al-Hisba's "rule as defined by Ibn Taymiah, is to practise the control over the social activities of individuals, especially their economic behaviour, so that they observe what is good and abstain from what is wrong". Monzer Kahf : "Fiscal and Monetary————" *op. cit.* p. 13.

32. It is reported that once there was a famine in Medina during the regime of Prophet. The people asked him to set a price. He refused to do it.

When people become the victims of famine they said, "Oh. Messenger of God; set a price for us." He said, "No. God will question me about resorting to a method which he has not ordered me and which I invent by myself Instead, you pray to God for His kindness."

A similar tradition is reported by Abu-Dauod:

33. The reason behind this assertion is that hoarding (Ehtikar) has been prohibited by the Prophet.

34. Amr Bin Marrah said to Muawiah I have heard the Messenger of God (Pbuh) saying "If a leader (Imam) closes his doors to the needy and poors the God closes the doors of His Skies on his needs on hearing to this Muawiah appointed a man to look after people's needs.

35. M. Nejatullah Siddique "*Some aspect of Islamic Economy.*" p. 129.

36. For a detailed account of fiscal structure of this period see K.A. Fariq : *Khilafat Rashida Ka Iqtisadi Jaiza* (Urdu) Maktaba Burhan, Delhi.

37. Imam Raazi: *Tafseer-e-Kabir* (Arabic) Vol. 4, p. 727.

38. *Al-Bukhari*: (Urdu Translation), p. 526, No. 1311.

39. Five *wasq* is equivalent to 30 maunds. See K.A. Fariq: *Khilafat Rashida Ka Iqtisadi Jaiza.* Maktaba Burhan, Delhi (1977) p. 73.

40. *Al-Bukhari* (Urdu Translation) p. 527 No. 1316.

41. *Ibid.* p. 541 No. 1356.

42. *Ibid.* p. 560. No. 1404.

43. *Mishkwat* p. 423 Also quoted by Bukhari & Muslim.

44. *Mishkwat* p. 425 No. 1719 Aslo quoted by *Abu Daud.*

45. *Ibid* p. 425 No. 1717 Also quoted by Tirmizi.

46. *Shah Wali-ullah* : *Hajcth-ullah-Baleghah* pp. 129-130.

47. However, if vegetables are cultivated for sale or stored by the use of modern airconditioning instruments, then 2 akch will have to be paid according to the rules applicable to trade goods.

48. Abul Ala Maudoodi '*Islamic Maashiat*' (EdP by Khursheed Ahmed Islamic Publications Ltd. (1975) p. 339.

49. *Ibid* p. 343.

50. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Khiraj* p. 23 quoted by Mohd. Hifzur-Rehman: *Islam Ka Iqtisadi Nizam*, Nadwatul Musannifeen, Delhi (1942) p. 123.

51. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation by A. Ben Shemesh *Taxation in Islam* Vol. III. London, Luzag, Co. (1969) p. 54. At another occasion Abu Yusuf writes, "Rikaz *i.e. gold and silver created by God with the earth are also liable to the Fifth Ibid* (p. 55) (emphasis added).

52. Umar appointed Yaalibin Umaiyya to receive tax on the produce of the *i.e.* one fifth is due in what God brings out from the sea. *Azalatul khafa* p. 72.

53. Abul-Ala Maudoodi: *Maashiat Islam* (Urdu) Edited by Khursheed Ahmed. Islamic Publications Ltd., Lahore (1975).

54. See the Reference No. 43. This tradition is quoted by *Al-Bukhari.*

55. Abul Ala Maudoodi : *Masala Milikiyat Zamin.* Markazi Maktaba Jamat-e-Islami Hind, Delhi (1969), pp. 68-69. This tradition is also reported by Abdullah Bin Abbas and Anas Bin Malik and quoted by *Bukhari, Muslim, Ahmed, Tirmizi, Abu Daud, Nisai and Ibn Maja.*

56. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation) op. cit. p. 102.

57. *Ibid* p. 102.

58. Abu Obaid op. cit. p. 208.

59. This famous episode of Islamic History has been reported in great detail by several reporters. See Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation) op. cit. pp. 183—191. Shibli Nomani : *Al-Farooq* pp. 232—234.

60. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation) op. cit. p. 103.

61. *Ibid* p. 100.

62. Abu Obaid : *Kitabul Ammwal* (Urdu Translation) op. cit. p.162.

63. *Ibid* p. 203.

64. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation) op. cit p 101.

65. *Ibid.* p. 101.

66. *Ibid.* p. 101.

67. *Ibid.* p. 101.

68. *Ibid.* p. 101

69. *Ibid.* p. 82.

70. Abu Obaid : *Kitabul Ammwal* (Urdu Translation) op. cit. p. 180.

71. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English Translation) op. cit. p. 82.

72. Abu Obaid : *Kitabul Ammwal* p. 180.

73. *Ibid* p. 181.

74. Abu Yusuf op. cit. p. 82.

75. *Ibid* p. 82.

76. *Ibid* p. 83.

77. Abu Obaid : *Kitabul Ammwal* p. 209.

78. *Ibid* p. 209.

79. *Ibid* pp. 214-215.

80. In the terminology of fiqh, a 'companion' in a person who lived during the life time of Prophet of Islam and had occasions to talk to him. Tabaeen are those persons who were companions of the companions of the Prophet.

81. Abu Obaid : *Kitabul Ammwal* (Urdu translation) op. cit. p. 215-216.

82. *Ibid* p. 217.

83. *Ibid* pp. 221-222.

84. *Ibid* pp. 223—229.

85. Mohd. Taqi Amini : *Islam Ka Zarai Nazam* (Urdu) Nadvat-ul-Musannifeen, Delhi (1955) pp. 235—241.

86. It is reported that Umar imposed Jazya of four Dinars upon Dhimmis owning gold, and forty Dirhams upon those owning silver. This rate was applicable in Syria. In Iraq, the rate of Jazya was 12 Dirhams, 24 Dirhams and 48 Dirhams per head. See Abu Obaid : *Kitabul Ammwal* (Urdu translation), op. cit. pp. 160-161.

87. *Ibid* p. 161.

88. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English translation) op. cit. p. 51.

89. Shibli Nomani : *Al Farooq* p. 232.

90. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English translation) op. cit. p. 78.

91. K. A. Fariq : op. cit. p. 75

92. Abu Yusuf : *Kitabul Kharaj* (English translation) op. cit. p. 140.

93. *Ibid* p. 141.

94. In fiqh such lands are described as Arzul Hauz. *See* Hifzur Rehman : *Islam Ka Iqtisadi Nizam* Nadvatul Musanifeen, Delhi (1942), 2nd Edition p. 125.

95. *Ibid* 126.

96. *Tirmizi, Bab-Al-Zakah* : vol. 1 p. 83, Mujtabai Press.

97. *Ibn Maja* Vol. 1 p. 570 Tradition No. 1789.

98. *Faizu' Qadir* Key to *Jamey Saghir* vol. 2 p. 472.

99. *Ibn Maja* vol. 1 p. 570 Tradition No. 1788.

100. *Ibn* Hazm : *Muhalla* vol. 6, p. 156 Tradition No. 725.

101. Abul Ala Maudoodi "*Mashiat Islam*" (Urdu) op. cit. 318 *see* Haifzur Rahman : *Islam Ka Iqtisadi Nizam* (Urdu) op. cit. p. 127-128 and Rafiullah Shahab "*Islam Riyasat ka Maliyati Nizam* (Urdu) Idra Tehqeeqeati Islami, Islamabad (1973) p. 80.

102. Abul Ala Maudoodi : *Maashiat Islam* (Urdu) op. cit. p. 319 also see Rafiullah Shahab : op. cit. p. 81.

103. Mufti Mohd. Shafi : *Quran Mein Nizam Zakat* (Urdu) Darul Ishaat, Karachi (1963), pp. 34—36.

104. *Bukhari* and *Muslim* quoted in *Mishkwat* p. 429 Tradition No. 1736.

105. K. A. Fariq : op. cit. p. 17.

106. *Ibid* p. 61.

107. Abul Ala Maudoodi : *Maashiat Islam* (Urdu) opp. cit. p. 322.

108. *Ibid* p. 323.

109. These conditions are accepted by almost all schools of thought. *See* Maudoodi : Maashit Islam op. cit. p. 323. Rafiullah Shahab : op. cit. p. 84 and Mufti Mohd. Shafi : op. cit. pp. 53-54.

110. Mufti Mohd. Shafi: Op. cit. p. 54.

111. There are four major sects of Sunni Muslims and these sects are named after the names of their founder. Each sect follows the position taken by his founder and his followers in the explanation of Quran and Sunnah as well as on other matters regarding shariah. Hanafis are the follower of Imam Abu Hanifa. There other schools are Malakis, Shafais and Hanbale named after Imam Malik, Imam Shafai and Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal respectively.

112. Hifzur-Rahman : op. cit. p. 128.

113. *Sharah wiquya* (Urdu) vol. 1, p. 277 Mufti Mohd. Shafi writes:

"The companions of the Prophe:....have specified this word (for the sake of God) for Haj and the holy war. There is tradition that a person had devoted one of his camels for the sake of God. Then Messenger of God (P. b. u. h.) asked to use that camel for those who go to Haj." Mufti Mohd. Shafi: op. cit. p. 57.

114. Imam Fakhruddin Razi : *Tafisir Kabir* (Arabic) vol. 4 p. 727.

115. K.A. Fariq : op. cit. p. 62.

116. *Tafsir Tibri* vol. 10 p. 167 quoted by K.A. Far q op. cit. p. 62.

117. Some modern Islamic thinkers would like to give a wider meaning to *Jihad* (holy war) also. For instance Abul Ala Maudoodi writes :

............"In fact, *Jihad* for the sake of God is a wider concept than to kill. It applies to all the efforts which are made to suppress the message of non belief and to raise the message of Allah and to enforce the religion of God as a system life, whether they are in the initial stage of invitation and preaching or in the last stage of killing." Abul Ala Maudoodi : *Maashiat Islam* op. cit. p. 324.

118. Imam Fakhruddin Razi : op. cit. p. 727.

119. Abul Ala Maudoodi : *Maashiat-e-Islam* op. cit. p. 325.

120. *Ibid* p. 326.

121. *Ibid* p. 327.

122. *Ibid* p. 350.

123. Mufti Mohd. Shafi: op. cit. pp. 38-39.

124. *Ibid* pp. 59—62.

125. Hifzur-Rahman op. cit. p. 125.

126. All this was initiated by Umar the second Caliph. For details, K.A. Fariq: *op. cit.* or Shibli Nomani op. cit.

127. Hifzur Rahman : op. cit. pp. 120—129.

128. Hindustan Times dated February 11, 1979, p. 6.

129. *Pakistan Economic Survey* 1976-77, Govt. of Pakistan, Finance Division, Islamabad, p. 33.

130. *The Budget in Brief* (1978-79), Government of Pakistan, Finance Division, Islamabad, p. 60.

131. Mufti Mohd. Shafi: *Islam Ka Nizam Arazi*, Karachi, p. 114.

132. Rafi-ullah Shahab: *Islam Riyasat Ka Maliyat Nizam* (Urdu) op. cit. pp. 68—77.

133. S.R. Bose "East West contrast in Pakistan's Agricultural Development" in E.A.G. Robianson and M. Kirdren (ed). *Economic Development in South Asia* Proceeding of a conference held by the International Economic Association at Kandy, Ceylone.

134. Abd-al-Rahman Al-Juzairi *Kitabul Fiqh Ala Al-Mazahib Arba* (Urdu translation by Manzoor Ahmed Abbaari) Publication Department, Waqf Deptt., Government of Punjab (197), Lahore p. 984.

135. Abul Ala Maudoodi, *Maashiat Islam* op. cit. p. 341.

136. *Ibid* p. 341.

137. *Economic Survey of Pakistan* (1976-77), Government of Pakistan, Finance Division, Islamabad. Statistical Appendix.

138. Quoted by Mahfooz Ahmed : "*Distributive Justice and Fiscal and Monetary Economic in Islam*" Paper presented to seminar, on Fiscal and Monetary Economics of Islam, Mecca, October, 1978. (Miemo) p. 7.

139. *Pakistan Economic Survey* op. cit. p. 3.

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MUSLIMS AS A MINORITY IN BRITAIN : CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND THEIR IDENTITY IN THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION :

In a pluralistic society such as Britain today, ethnic minority groups want to and need to keep their cultural identity such as religious practices, distinguishing patterns of family relationships, mother-tongue and other aspects. While adapting to various modes of the dominant culture such as the language, educational system, employment patterns and civic life of the society. For them integration means acceptance of their separate ethnic indentity by the majority population and its institutions. This applies to Muslims in Britain. I must point out at the outset that this is in line with the central objective of Government policy in the area of race relations, *i.e.*, the promotion of equal opporunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance.[1]

In a minority-dominant group approach, the ideology behind the concepts of "assimilation", "absorption" or "integration" reflect the ideology of the dominant group and therefore, any group which remains unabsorbed, or not assimilated, is usually considered to upset the equalisation of social relations in the society. On the other hand, ethnic minorities interpret the concept of integration to mean the acceptance by the majority of their separate ethnic and cultural identity. Sociologists reflect these two viewpoints by using the concept of "pluralistic integration " where a group continues to maintain itself as a unit on its own, but is nevertheless accepted by the majority as part of the society ; hence diverse cultures existing side by side.[2] This means that a group such as Muslims, integrated in this sense, would keep its own distinguishing features such as religion, language, family patterns but its children would go to state schools and its members would do work with the majority. Religion is an important and sensitive part of a group's ethnic identity and the religious needs of the Muslims in Britain are very important in this regard.

However, cultural diversity is linked with the economic, political and social positions, and relationships of different ethnic groups within a society. Similarly, when we talk about Muslim's identity in the future, it depends on their overall position in the social structure in which they are living. In this paper an attempt is made to look at the situation of Muslims in Britain in this context. In particular, to make any assessment for the future I compare the position and attitudes of the first generation and second generation Muslims. Because, religion overrides national and racial origins, for example, a British Muslim can be white, Negro, Asian, Pakistani, Nigerian, or English and any analysis based on national or racial categories, would not be adequate to comprehend the situation fully.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC PICTURE :

The estimated number of Muslims in Britain is one million.[3] Many of them came from New Commonwealth (including Pakistan) countries in the last three decades. The largest number originate from Pakistan. There are sizeable groups from Bangladesh, India, Cyprus, Malaysia, Arab countries and from some parts of Africa. There is also an increasing number of British-born Muslims.

Most of the first generation Muslims are economic immigrants. Muslims are mainly to be found in the south-East, especially in the Greater London Conurbation, the West Midlands, the West Yorkshire, and the South Lancashire Conurbations.

There is also a concentrated Muslim community in the Central Clydeside Conurbation (mainly in Glasgow). This tendancy of concentration is found because they were attracted to these areas in search of employment when they first arrived in Britain. At the same time, the active kinship—friendship networks and the process of chain migration have contributed to these concentrations of Muslims.[4]

They are mainly employed in manufacturing industry, in particular in textiles and metal industry. There is also a growing number of Muslim businessmen and professionals. For instance, it is estimated that there are about 10,000 Muslim doctors working in the British National Health Service, between 15,000 to 17,000 as teachers, and as many as 20,000 as engineers and scientists.

As far as community facilities are concerned, there are now some 300 Mosques throughout Britain. A part from Worship places, Mosques are also used as cultural centres and for social and welfare work. The first mosque was established at Woking in Surrey in 1890 and they now include converted terraced houses in the inner city areas and new mosques in London, Birgmingham, Manchester, Glasgow to mention a few. The number of new multi-purpose mosques is likely to increase in the future.

The type of organised religious activities which takes place in the Mosques and run by Muslim organisations locally and nationally provides an opportunity for the religio-cultural awareness of the members and binds the Muslims together. It is worth pointing out here that this pattern is not peculiar to Muslims. Jews have used their Synagogues as a major institution for identification with Judaism. Poles in Britain belong formally to separate Polish Roman Catholio Parishes. The Irish in Britain follow the Roman Catholic Church and this has played an important part in presenting Irish traditions among the immigrants.[5]

The efforts made by the Muslim religious leaders and organisations seemed to stress the values of Islam to Muslims and to emphasise the importance of its practice, continuance and transmission to the next generation as it regulates the whole way of life. The majority of the first generation seemed to be more committed to

religious allegiance and observance and, therefore, appear to be more orthodox in response to "Western" values. Whether the second generation Muslims will continue to behave this way is dealt with below.

ISSUES INVOLVED :

Some of the religious activities and values of Muslims are seen by the indigenous community (mainly Christian) as alien, due to differences in outlook and behaviour. Such behaviour sometimes appears as the cause of conflict with indigenous people. Problems relating to Muslims have arisen in terms of worship and burial facilities and in connection with dress, habits of hygiene and eating habits.

These issues must be seen in the context in which Muslims live bearing in mind their past colonial links with Britain. Because the relationships between Muslims and the indigenous people can best be understood against the background of Colonial encounter and the unequal economic and political power relationships generated by it both in British India and now in Britain. Majority norm is acceptable as right and any behaviour different from that is regarded as inferior and by some as deviant behaviour. No doubt sometimes it is due to lack of information about say Muslims background and Islam at other times it is due to prejudice and discrimination which all minority groups face. But what protection Muslims and other minority religious groups have under the legislation in relation to their religious belief and religious practice. Religion is not covered in the Race Relations Act, 1976.[6] However it is to be found elsewhere. For instance the Fair Employment (Northern Ireland) Act, 1976 makes certain types of religious discrimination illegal. Section 30 of the Education Act, 1944 in general protects individuals from discrimination on the grounds of religious belief and religious practice. Religious discrimination is also covered by Article 14 of the European Convention of Human Rights which provides in effect that the different States which adhere to the Convention are to secure the various rights and freedoms set out in it without discrimination on relgious and other grounds. Since Britain is a party to the Convention, there is a possibility of using this by victims of religious discrimination from Britain. It must be added that UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights covers discrimination on the basis of religion, language, sex, political belief, etc. Therefore, it would have been consistent to include religion in the Race Relations Act, 1976, rather than to have it to be interpreted under the in direct discrimination clause of the Act. Because, for an ordinary person who is discriminated against on the grounds of religion it is not practical and possible to use those European and international forums.[7]

Muslims in Britain face problems mainly in the field of employment and education. For instance, Muslims have been sacked because they wanted to say prays at work or outside work situation. They clearly need legal protection to practice their beliefs and values.[8]

There are other factors too. Many Muslims have agrarian background and speak little or no English. They are not used to rules and practices of an industrial society such as Britain, their presence as migrants is mainly resented and they suffer racialist insults and indignities. They also face disadvantages in the job market, housing and goods and facilities fields. Like other immigrants, Muslims are able to endure hardship and survive for a variety of reasons. In particular because they look upon themselves as "migrants" and not "settlers" and some have developed the feeling what I call " the myth of return " *i.e.* they are in Britain to work and not stay permanently.[9] Therefore, the first generation Muslim immigrants have limited contact with the dominant culture, and look forward to a day when they can comfortably retire or at least find permanent rest in their native countries. Their native countries are their constant frame of reference. They compare their lot with that of their relatives back home, calculate their savings in terms of that money, and are content to know that they are better off than them. This is why, as several surveys have shown, the average Muslim does not consider his house or conditions of work to be sub-standard.

The second generation Muslims' attitudes are rather different. Although they are often described as the second generation 'immigrant', they feel that the are not at all immigrant, but the first generation British Muslims. They do not think that they should feel grateful for the privilege of being allowed to live in Britain. Britain is their home, they belong to it, and it to them, just as much as it belongs to their white compatriots. Consequently, they do not feel the need to justify their existence, that is, to prove that they are worthy members of society, and make claim on the country their parents never thought of making. Further, unlike them, their standards of comparison and points of reference are drawn from Britain. They judge their job, house, income opportunities, etc. by British standards, and demand equality with their white compatriots. Unlike their parents who, under a mistaken sense of gratitude and insecurity did not press their demands for justice and fair play sufficiently and relied on others to fight for them the second generation Muslims insist upon fighting for their rights and justice along with other minority groups in Britain.[10]

While the incidence of blatant discrimination and crude racial insults have somewhat diminished over the years, the level of expectation and the sensitivity to discrimination have increased. Therefore, although the second generation Muslims are marginally better off than their parents, they feel discriminated against far more acutely than they did. Unlike their parents their image of the British is based not on colonial experience but on their day to day contacts.

The differences between the attitudes, experiences and frameworks of reference, between the first and second generation Muslims have naturally created some tensions between them.[11] These tensions are expressed, interpreted and dealt with differently in various families depending on their degrees of Anglicisation period of stay in Britain, their proximity to other Muslim families, and other outside factors.

It must be emphasised here that all groups who come to settle in a strange country have difficulties adjusting to a new way of life. Muslims in Britain face particularly acute problems. Strongly attached to their own religion, languages, values and customs, they feel that the western culture is a threat to these values and traditions, and so they tend to be protective. Hostility and racial discrimination from the indigenous community further prompt Muslims to seek support from their own groups. As they strive to preserve their cultural identity, it becomes harder for them to "integrate"—to be accepted as British. In particular, the children of Muslim parents born or brought up in Britain are a generation caught between two cultures. They live in the culture of their parents at home, and are taught a different one in school, the neighbourhood, and at work. Their world is not the "old" or the "new" but both. Parents can't fully understand their children; children have difficulty in fully understanding their parents. Stress and difference of opinions inevitably arise between the generations.

Second generation Muslims present the real test as to whether Islamic beliefs and practices will be sustained in a non-Muslim environment and hence the question of the future identity. Do Muslim parents feel that their children will lose their religious identity ? What do the Muslim parents and their children feel about their situation in the British society and what attitudes do they have about various reglio-cultural issues. The statistical information used to illustrate these points was gathered in a nationwide survey supervised by the author in which 358 parents and 486 young people (13—21 years) were Muslims.[12] Let us look at these results.

RESEARCH FINDINGS :

The traditional family system among Muslims is the joint/extended family, which consists of a group, usually of three or more generations with a complex set of mutual obligations. They usually pool their income and expenditure is made from a common purse. Migration may have modified and changed the structure and probably some of the functions of the Muslim joint family in Britain. Similarly, because of migration and immigration restrictions, Muslim extended families in Britain are less common than in the countries of origin. The households are usually of two generations. Grandparents and other relatives are less frequently found in Britain, although sometimes they come for a visit and some have come as dependents. Out of 549 Muslim households, covered in the survey 71% were living as nuclear families. The Muslim family structure may change over a period of time when more families have grandchildren in this country. Some Muslim household in Britain include unmarried brothers of the husband or wife. In some cases, married brothers live together as a joint family, living mostly in the same house. In other cases, due to the non-availability of large houses, brothers live in separate houses but function as a joint family.

An overwhelming majority of both parents and young Muslims—8 out of 10—believe that "Muslims prefer to live as joint families". Only 14% of both parents

and young Muslims disagree. The reasons for continued preference of the extended family system are two-fold :

The traditional and pragmatic—"traditionally families live together" ; or "so that people can help each other and members of families rely on each other".

There is some indication that the extended family system would not persist in the future. 58 per cent. of the young Muslims agreed with the statement: "when I have a home of my own, I would prefer to have only my husband/wife and children living with me". It must be noted that a substantial minority of 37% still prefer to live in an extended family.

The reasons for disagreeing with the idea of the nuclear family were related to love of parents and recognition of the duty of looking after them. A Muslim boy expressed, " I have a duty to look after my parents. After all, they have spent all their lives making life better for me ". On the other hand, the main reasons for preferring to live in a nuclear family were privacy, independence and "having a home of one's own ".

The prestige of the family was almost unanimously regarded by the respondents as being sacrosanct. When asked whether they agree or disagree with the statement, "I would not like to damage the prestige of my family" no more than 5 per cent. of any group of respondents believed that they would be prepared to do anything which would damage the prestige of the family. Ninety-four per cent. of the young Muslims took the view that the family was important. This clearly shows the feeling and the need for a continuity of traditional customs and norms.

Overwhelming, both parents and young people felt that Muslim children respect their parents more than their English counterparts. When asked whether Muslim children have more respect for their parents than white children, most of those interviewed agreed that this was so. Nine out of ten parents and children alike stated that they felt Muslim children have more respect for their parents than white children. But there was also feeling that this would not continue once Muslim children were exposed to Western educational system. It is already crea.-ing difficulties between parents and children in some families.

The Muslim family law is of divine origin and as a religious duty, personal relations should be governed by it. One important institution to see the static or changing attitudes in this direction is marriage.

When marriage is arranged, it is seen as a contract between two families and not two individuals. Therefore, the parents and relatives who arrange it make sure that it remains intact and use the pressure of family and other relatives to put things in order in case any difference of opinion occur between husband and wife. Also the relationships in the family are governed by Islamic principals.

A majority of parents (93%) and young Muslims (80%) favour the principle of endogamy (*i.e.* marrying somebody from the same group). One in five of the adolescents are opposed to it which is three times higher than what their parents

mentioned. Forty per cent. of the parents and 47 per cent. of young Muslims did not like the arrangement of marriage in the country of origin (*see*, Table 1) and there is a great opposition (over 50% who were asked) to returning girls back to the country of origin to get married.

TABLE 1

Marriage to be arranged in the country of Origin :

	Parents	*Young People*
Base	358 %	426 %
Agree	44	38
Neither agree nor disagree ..	16	15
Disagree	40	47

Young people generally said that arranged marriages are more popular with their parents than with their own age group. One in four young Muslims do not want their parents to arrange their own marriage and three out of ten would not wish to arrange their own children's marriage.

TABLE 2

Children's Marriage to be arranged by :

	Children's marriage to be arranged by Parents	*Children's marriage to be arranged by themselves*
Base (Young Muslims only) ..	426 %	426 %
Agree	68	53
Neither agree nor disagree ..	7	18
Disagree	25	29

The responses of those who expressed opposition to their marriage being arranged indicate that as Muslim children are exposed to the British way of life, the system would no longer work in its rigid form. This view was tested by the proposition: more young people will rebel against "arranged marriages". Fifty

per cent. of parents and sixty-nine per cent. of young Muslims foresaw the break-down of the system of arranged marriages. 37 per cent. parents and 20 per cent. of young people disagreed with the proposition.

The substantial majority of respondents who agreed with the statement cited their reasons as the "western influence" and the freedom and example of their British peers. The higher proportion of girls who agreed with the proposition felt that "times are changing and traditions are not being carried on". The attitudes of young people towards arranged marriages indicate that this question is an issue for potential inter-generation conflict in the Muslim community and needs greater attention. Parents have to teach their children those Islamic values which are attached to this system. Islamic rules should be taught to maintain social stability, because it is the duty of the parents to teach and transmit traditional values to their children.

It is because man is a cultural being that sociologists have attached great importance to the notion of socialization. This means the transmission of religious culture, the process whereby men learn the rules through family and friends, and deliberate instruction, which we call "education". Education can be contrasted with informal aspects of socialization. For example, if family and friends emphasise values that are different from those a child is learning at school, then the child may experience special problems in adapting to life both in school and at home. This is the problem which Muslim children in Britain face at the moment. Because they are living between two cultures. Therefore, education should not be isolated from its social settings since it is one of the important influences that determine what a child learns in the school. Because of this, as we discovered in this Study greater importance is attached to Religious education in schools by the respondents.

Over half the respondents spontaneously mentioned that young Muslims face difficulties because of their religion. Respondents commented on difficulties with food—dietary restrictions, the problem of finding good religious education for children, the question of dress, school curriculum (*e.g.* physical education) and the special problems of girls in the religious context. When respondents were asked about some of these issues one by one, the picture became clearer. For instance, over two-thirds of the respondents thought that it was difficult to find good religious teaching...

The difficulty of finding suitably trained religious teachers was also mentioned.

One place where Islam could be taught is in schools. Roughly, eighty per cent. of both parents and children agreed that there is not sufficient formal teaching of Islam in English schools. Many Muslims feel that there sho ld be facilities within the school system for religious instruction. One of the worries they seem to have is that if they are not taught Islam in school, children may be influenced by Christianity.

Almost half of the Muslim parents (47%) and 41 per cent. of young Muslims feel that the "Children are influenced by Christianity because they attend assemblies at school with a Christian service" as Table 3 shows :

TABLE 3

Children are influenced by Christianity by attending assemblies at school with a Christian Service :

	Parents	*Young People*
Base	358 %	426 %
Agree	47	41
Neither agree nor disagree	12	9
Disagree	41	50

Those who felt strongly about this issue said that because of the influences to which Muslim children are exposed, they tend to think about Christianity more than about their own religion. Some religious leaders and parents take this issue very seriously and would like to see facilities for teaching Islam in schools. It was pointed out that some schools do teach comparative religions, including Islam. However, it was widely felt that there should be separate teaching for Islam.

Those who disagreed with the proposition said that children "did not have to attend" and that if they are properly taught their own religions at home, it does not matter whether the school does so as well.

One father explained, "The influence of the home is important". If there is sufficient teaching, then there should be no problem of Christianity. This suggests that some parents are more concerned about the facilities for religious teaching at home or in the community than in school. As a group, parents were marginally more concerned about facilities for practising their religion than young people. However, there were substantial differences between communities in different areas :—

TABLE 4

It is difficult to practice my religion in the area :

	Parents	*Young People*
Base	358 %	426 %
Agree	21	22
Neither agree nor disagree	4	6
Disagree	74	72

Almost all the respondents who felt that they (or their children) faced difficulties in the practising of their religion mentioned that the Mosque was too far away and facilities for prayers were not available in schools and at their places of work.

Some community workers said that Muslim children (and other Asians) go to religious services to please their family and this indirectly creates conflict and tension. To find out how far this was true, young people were asked to react to the proposition : "I don't like having to go to religious services but I do it just to please my family". More than two-thirds of the young people disagreed with this and only 19% agreed with the proposition. The reactions of those disagreeing often bordered on the indignant.

To see the inter-generational differences in practice of religion and attitudes towards religious practice and the effect of westernization, we asked the young people if their parents were more religious than they were. Seventy-eight per cent. of young people felt that this was the case. They thought their parents pray more than they do. They felt that their parents had the advantage of having had more religious teaching than they have had.

When we asked our respondents about the frequency of prayers, we discovered that more parents say their prayers than young Muslims as Table 5 shows:—

TABLE 5

Frequency of Praying :

	Parents	*Children*
	358	426
	%	%
Once a day or more	60	48
Once a week	10	8
Once a month or more but less than a week	6	5
Less than that	5	14
Never	3	15
Don't know/no answer	16	10

Similarly, we found that a higher percentage of 35% of young Muslims as compared with 20% of parents never go to Mosque. This evidence suggests that due to the environmental factors and possibly the lack of proper religious teaching, there is a trend towards a breakdown in religious observance, within the community as far as the second generation is concerned. Exposure to western values is one factor that may have contributed to this trend.

Two other issues related to religion are the questions of dress and single-sex schools. These problems are obviously acute amongst girls. Interaction between males and females is limited outside a certain well-defined category of people—the immediate kin—as outlined in the Quran. Also the sexes are segregated before or at the time of puberty.

On the issue of single-sex schools, Muslim parents have recently shown concern that these are disappearing. This issue has been debated in the community and, in particular, in the ethnic press. Over 80 per cent. of the Muslim respondents agreed that "most Muslim parents prefer their children to go to single-sex schools". But around 14 per cent. disagreed with the proposition. Table 6 gives the detail :

TABLE 6

Most Muslim parents prefer their children to go to single-sex schools :

	Muslims	
	Parents	*Young People*
Base	358	426
	%	%
Agree	83	80
Neither agree nor disagree ..	4	5
Disagree	13	15

Religion and tradition were mentioned as reasons by those who prefer single-sex schools. Most of those agreed also said they did not like girls mixing with boys. One Muslim girl explained, "because they think that if you mix with boys you will learn more of the wrong things." Many of the Muslim parents expressed distress at the permissiveness as they saw it, of British society in general and young people in particular.

In an attempt to discover the difference of attitudes between parents and young people, the following statement was put to them : "more Muslim girls would like to wear more Western clothes". There was a difference of opinion between Muslim parents and young Muslims who agreed with this statement as Table 7 shows :

TABLE 7

Most Muslim girls would like to wear more Western clothes :

	Parents	*Young People*
Base	358	462
	%	%
Agree	46	57
Neither agree nor disagree	16	13
Disagree	38	30

Attitudes to the question, "Do you see anything wrong with Muslim girls wearing Western clothes?" were extremely varied. Young people generally were less likely to see anything wrong with that their parents. Girls favoured the proposition more than boys, but a significant number of Muslims, both parents and young people, rejected the idea of Muslim girls wearing Western clothes. At the same time over half (57 per cent.) young people and 46 per cent. of parents agreed with the proposition. These and other results mentioned above shows that young Muslim's attitudes are clearly being influenced by their exposure to the dominant society's culture.

CONCLUSIONS

Religious beliefs and attitudes are modified by membership of educational and other social groups. It is thus apparent that the communication of values through education often results in conflict with values that the Muslim children learn at home and those in the community. For Muslims, culture, language, family relations and religion are intimately linked. Therefore, one needs to take into account certain difficulties which arise in relation to the practice of their beliefs, their self-identity as Muslims in a society where they are likely to experience feelings of rejection and hostility associated with belonging to a minority group in an unsympathetic environment. In addition, they enjoy no protection in law against discrimination on the basis of religion.

However, there is one temporary satisfaction. The available evidence indicates that Muslims in Britain are going through a process of accultration at a slower rate than other ethnic/religious groups that arrived in Britain at about the same time. But, as our research findings show the second generation Muslims are already changing their attitudes to some extent because of the Western influence and lack of proper public and community facilities to protect them from this growing influence. Also, the speed of their alienation from the Muslim community is slower because of their newness and concentrations. According to the theory "Race Relations Cycle" increased segregation or concentration of an ethnic group should signify the stoppage if not reversal of the cultural, social and psychological processes. With the second generation Muslims seen in this context, another aspect of accultration, namely, secularization, appears to have been started. Therefore, changes are needed in the conditions under which Muslim's practice religion and their attitudes are formed in general.

In some cases there is a return to the Community of those who tried to break away as a result of the Western influence. The major force, it appears, in Britain contributing to such young Muslims to return to the Community is the rejection and hostility encountered by them in an unsymphathetic outside world, as members of a minority group. In reaction to this experience they tend to return to the community and some also become ardent Muslims.[13]

Finally, when the ethnic group undergoing acculturation begins to feel as Muslims in Britain do, that its way of life is threatened, it sometimes reacts with a conscious, organised effort to preserve those aspects of its religion and culture which it values most highly. Linton calls this kind of organised reaction as 'perpetuative—rational nativistic movement' [14]. To make such a movement successful the group needs to use a number of 'boundary maintaining mechanisms'. Muslim organisations and leadership in Britain are already trying to do this.[15]

But they still need to go a long way to be successful in their approach. What British Muslims need to achieve is to seek toleration for their religions—cultural differences and identify from the indigenous community, and adopt processes which could help to continue and even strengthen Muslim identity in the future.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See *Official Report*, 4 March 1976 Vol 906 C 1567.
2. For a full discussion of this see Muhammad Anwar, *The Myth of Return Pakistanis in Britain*, London, Heinemann 1979, Chapter One.
3. Muslims are the largest minority religious group not only in Britain but also in the whole of Europe. Their number is estimated to be over 5 million for all the countries of Europe.
4. For further details of these processes see Muhammad Anwar, *The Myth of Return Op Cit* Chapters 2, 4 and 5.
5. See J.A. Jackson, *The Irish in Britain*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, P. 303.
6. It is argued by some that religion is covered under the indirect discrimination Clause of the Act, See *Race Relations Act*, 1976 Chapter 74 London HMSO PP. 1-2.
7. Sometimes cases of dismissal for saying prayers at work are reported in the press. For instance see *Guardian* 26 March 1976, and *Daily Telegraph* 15 April 1976.
8. See Ahmad *VS* I.L.E.A. (Inner London Education Authority) case where a Muslim teacher was sacked because he went to say Friday prayer.

AL-HISBA AND THE ISLAMIC ECONOMY

1. Al-Hisba :

The word *hisba* has been derived from the root h.s.b. and means 'arithmetical problem'; 'sum'; or 'reward'. The verb *hasaba yahsubu* means 'to compute'; 'to measure'. The verbal form *Ihtassaba* means 'to take into consideration'; 'to anticipate a reward in the hereafter by adding a pious deed to one's account with God'.[1] Perhaps, from here the usage of the noun *Ihtisab* came to be associated with the activities of a person who invites others to do good (ma'rūf) and forbids them from evil (munkar) in the hope of getting a reward in the hereafter. More technically the noun *hisba* connotes the state institution to promote what is proper and forbid what is improper *'amr bil ma'rūf wa nahī anil munkar*).[2] Although the Quran visualises every Muslim to play a positive role in the propagation of good (ma'rūf) and suppression of evil (*munkar*)[3] but it has been made an obligation on a section of society to remain engaged in it (*fard kifā'ya*).[4] The Islamic state has been enjoined to institute arrangements to oversee the implementation of this injunction.[5]

After the establishment of Islamic state at Madina part of the task before the holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was to reshape its institutions, lay down norms of behaviour and provide arrangements for the protection and perpetuation of these norms. The pre-Islam norms required drastic modifications as they had evolved in a pagan culture. The Islamic culture, rooted in the foundations of *Tawhid, Risāla* and *Ālkhira* could not adopt values of *Jahiliyya*. Of course it did not outrightly reject everything that was in vogue. Some of the conventions and values were retained intact, while others were modified and reshaped and integrated into cultural fabric of the Islamic society. The process was both fast and comprehensive. It addressed to the totality of human situation. From such small things as table manners to standards of diplomacy, it did not leave anything out of its orbit.

Besides devising a code of approved behaviour the holy Prophet took care to institutionalise the perpetuation and preservation of this code by enjoining upon everyone to engage in *'amr bil mar'ūf wa nahī anil munkar*. In a number of traditions the Prophet (peace be upon him) has been reported to have emphasised this role for every Muslim.[6] He himself would, so often, undertake inspections of markets to see that the merchants did not engage in an improper behaviour. Wherever he would see someone indulging in an evil he would forbid him.[7] This function he carried out both as Prophet of Allah and as head of the Islamic state. In this regard, the Prophet (peace be upon him) has been termed as the first *Muhtasib* in the Muslim history.[8] Subsequently when his personal engagements increased he appointed Sa'īd b. al-'As. b. al-'As. b. Umayyah as *muhtasib* in Mecca and 'Umar b. al-Khattab in Madina.[9]

The first four caliphs of Islam carried out the functions of *muhtasib* themselves, although there are reports of the appointment of a market officer by Caliph 'Umar.[10] The provincial governors during this era acted as *muhtasibs* on behalf of the caliph. A separate department of *hisba*, with a full-time *muhtasib* assisted by qualified staff (known as 'Arifs and Amins) was introduced by 'Abbāside caliph *Abū ja'afar Mansūr* in 157 A.H. He appointed Abu Zakariyah Yahyā b. 'Abdullah as *muhtasib*.[11] With the expansion of the jurisdiction of the caliphate the office of the *muhtasib* also expanded and assumed increased number of functions. The institution of *hisba* moved along with Muslim in the western provinces of Spain and North Africa and remained an integral part of the state even after the split of the Baghdad caliphate. Similarly the office of *muhtasib* was an important department during the reign of Fatimides, Ayyubides, and in the Ottoman empire. In India although a formal *hisba* department did not exist, yet during the Sultanate period a *muhtasib* and a *qādī* was invariably appointed whenever an area was annexed to the state. The mughals did not feel easy with the institution of *hisba* due to their own lax moral standards and replaced it with the office of *Kotwal* who had a much limited jurisdiction than the *muhtasib*. The institution of *hisba* remained in vogue during the entire Muslim period of history, though it has been termed differently in various regions. For example, in the eastern provinces of Baghdād caliphate the officer incharge was *muhtasib*, in North Africa he was *sahib al-sūq*, in Turkey, *muhtasib aghāsi* and in India a *Kotwal*.

In certain cases the offices of *qādi* (justice) and the *muhtasib* were entrusted to the same person. At other places the police department (Shurta) and the *hisba* were headed by the same officer. And at still other places the three offices were manned by one man. But the functions of *muhtasib* were clearly distinct from those of a *qādi* and a *shurta*.[12].

With the advent of western colonialism most of the Muslim institutions underwent drastic modifications. Like many other institutions, the *hisba* also declined in effectiveness. It either disintegrated into a number of departments or remained an ineffective appendage of the state organs. By 19th century Persia, Turkey, Egypt and India had already transformed *hisba* function into a number of secular departments discarding its religious content as irrelevant. In Morroco the *muhtasib*'s office existed even in the early part of the 20th century. In the present day Muslim societies the secular functions of the *hisba* have been assigned to various departments of the government and the religious functions have been relegated to a secondary position. Saudi Arabia is perhaps the only Muslim state which has retained to this day the religious wing of the *hisba* intact to a large extent, although she too has distributed the secular functions to different departments and ministries.[13]

Traditionally, the *muhtasib* was a free muslim male with a high degree of integrity, insight, reverence and social status. He was supposed to be a scholar of the *Shari'ah* (most often competent for *Ijtihād*) with a high degree of indepth

knowledge in the social customs and moors.[14] Of the qualities of a *muhtasib' Ilm* (knowledge), *Rifq* (kindness) and *Sabr* (patience) were considered to be of prime importance.[15]

The functions of a *muhtasib* could be classified into three categories:

(i) those relating to (rights of) God.

(ii) those relating to (rights of) people, and

(iii) those relating to both. [16]

The first category covered religious activities such as punctuality of prayers, organization of *Jum'a* and *Eid* congregations and maintenance of mosques. The second category related to community affairs and behaviour in the market, such as accuracy of weights and measures and honesty in dealings. The third related to, mostly, affairs relating to municipal administration such as keeping the roads and streets clean and lit at night and avoiding to build an industry or a dwelling place which may damage the community interests.

The *muhtasib* could appoint technically qualified staff who may investigate into the affairs of different crafts and trades. The *muhtasib* received complaints from the public but could also initiate an investigation on his own. He had wide powers, but was required to use them sensibly. There were a number of steps which a *muhtasib* could take. It could be simple advice, reprimand, rebuke, obstruction by forces (Taghyir bil yad), threat, imprisonment and expulsion from the town. The *muhtasib* was required to choose a stronger punishment only if a milder one was either ineffective or seemed to carry no weight with the person being admonished.[17] The code of conduct for a *muhtasib* provides a system of checks and balances. For example he could not doubt a *prima facie* approved behaviour nor could he engage in secret probing into a doubtful affair. The behaviour of a person should be obviously against the injunctions of the *Shari'ah* before a *muhtasib* could intervene. Similarly he should not engage in *ijtehad* to punish people; instead he should forbid them from only those actions on which there existed a consensus of the *'Ummah*. Similarly he should act with wisdom and foresight and not overzealously. His actions should not invoke a greater mischief than the one he wants to forestall. It means before he intends to obliterate an evil practice of a powerful group he should make sufficient arrangements to counter their reactions effectively.[18] On questions of social convenience the *muhtasib* should invite community participation and should not impose his personal opinion on the majority.[19]

The institution of *hisba* was a muslim contribution to the human civilisation. It has been claimed by some orientalists that the Muslims borrowed the concept and the office of *muhtasib* from Romans. The Romans used to have *agronomos* in their markets who used to perform similar functions as the Muslim *muhtasib*. But the evidence to show any connection between the two is both scanty and inadequate. There is little reason to believe, in the light of the available evidence,

that the Arabs borrowed this institution from Romans[20] because the Muslim institution evolved from the Qur'ānic injunction of *'amr bil ma'rūf wa nahi anil munkar* and had a much wider scope than the Roman *agronomos* or Byznatinian Prefect.[21] The office of *muhtasib* was only a logical necessity of the Islamic state to perpetuate and preserve its social norms. It was not merely a secular office to regulate markets and administer municipal services.

Essence of al-Hisba :

The literature on the institution of *hisba* may be classified in two categories. Part of it deals with the general principles of *hisba* and *'amr bil ma'rūf wa nahī anil munkar.* The other category manualises rights and duties of the *muhtasib.*[22] Books and dissertations of the latter type are operational guides which provide detailed instructions to the *muhtasib* in respect of possible malpractices in different trades and crafts. Usually the author describes each profession or craft in its technical details and points out the areas which demand *muhtasib*'s vigilance.

A cursory glance through this literature may induce one to conclude that the Muslim society, even in its hey-days was rampant with corruption and fraud and the jurists had to inform the *muhtasib* to be aware of it. But such a conclusion would be both hasty and erroneous. The literature on *hisba,* like the rest of material on Islamic *fiqh* needs to be studied in its literary perspective and intellectual tradition. The early jurists developed principles of *fiqh* and exhibited their operation by applying them to both the prevalent situation as well as to the potential possibilities which may uncover themselves with the course of history. A large number of questions on which the jurists have deliberated were only hypothetical probabilities and not a real-life phenomenon obtaining at that time.

A critical appreciation of the catalogue of *muhtasib's* rights and duties suggests that most of the trades and crafts have either disappeared from the economic horizon or have undergone a complete metamorphosis with the advent of industrialisation, mass scale production, extension of markets and development of modern credit and finance. A listing of these activities of the *muhtasib* would be of little immediate help. However, if we dissect and analyse these functions, at least three main strands appear to exist quite distinctly.

First, the *muhtasib* was responsible to see that the community as a whole had proper organisation and facilities for the performance of *Ibadāt.* The maintenance of mosques, appointment of *muezzins* and *imāms,* arranging daily prayers, Friday congregations and Eid prayers were some of his duties. Similarly he would object to any wilful and volitional non-observance of any other obligation of the *Sharī'ah* by individuals or by the community.[23] These functions of the *muhtasib* may be adopted even now, if an office to this effect comes into being.

Second, the *muhtasib* was concerned with the implementation of *'adl* (justice) in the society. He would try to enforce fairplay among different economic factors to minimise possibilities of exploitation

from the economy. Consequently, we find a long list of such instructions which prescribe inspection of weights and measures metallic content of coins and quality of food products. Similarly the *muhtasib* would check manipulation of prices, supplies and production, monopolistic collusions, cheating, fraud and any other form of inter-sectoral inequity. In brief, he had to intervene wherever the economic flows were manipulated by the economically powerful individual or groups to their selfish ends. This area of the *muhtasib's* functions needs to be recast to the present day modes of production, distribution and exchange. The spirit of 'adl has to be preserved while defining roles for various economic agents.

Third, the *muhtasib* paid special heed to various municipal services especially hygienic conditions in the town. Perhaps *muhtasib* was the only municipal officer in the Muslim society. He would look into the entire municipal administration such as street lighting, removal of garbage, architectural designs of buildings, water supply and antipollution sanctions. Obviously need for a smooth availability of these services at an efficient scale has only increased these days.

2. Implications of al-Hisba for Islamic Economy:

The economic history of the Muslim people has not yet been chronicled in detail. The early historians have mentioned and that too as passing references, to the economic conditions of the people during different eras. But the modes of production, distribution, and exchange and the credit system have received a little attention. Information on these subjects has not been documented properly to let us have a glance on institutions and operations of the Muslim economies. However, literature on the *hisba*, though written with an entirely different motive, helps us in reconstructing a vision of the economic system of Islam during its hey-day. If we read between the lines there are numerous points which increase our understanding of the functioning of an Islamic economy. The contours of economies as they glisten through mist of time may enable us to benefit from the wisdom of our elders. In an age when the stupenduous on slaught of western economic system has almost blurred the faith of most of the Muslims on the ability of successful operation of a *Shari'ah* based economic system, a probe to understand the logistics of the early Muslim economies, which were no less powerful in their own day than the present day western economies, would lend us a useful insight into the operationality of Islam's economic system. A detailed analysis of this aspect would entail a much larger space and is out of the scope of this paper. However, some of the salient features of Islamic economy as visible from the literature on *hisba* are enumerated below:

(a) Managed Equilibrium :

Many of the *muhtasibs'* functions imply that the economy was actively managed by the state and was not left to the viccissitudes of events. It entailed corrective actions by the state as and when necessary. Economic equilibrium

was manipulated to attain a reasonable degree of efficiency and justice. The 'invisible hand' was not trusted for an optimum level of production and a friction-free flow of distribution. Obviously this was a concretely distinct proposition than the classical economists' vision of *lassaiz-faire*.

(b) Regulation of Supply :

The *muhtasib* regulated production and supply of goods and services in a number of ways. First, he would see that resources do not flow to the production and distribution of goods and services which are categorically *harām* in the *Shari'ah*.[24] Second, the *muhtasib* would keep a strict watch on the supply position of essential articles especially foodstuff. At times of shortage he may compel the hoarders to bring out their stock in the market.[25] Third, all trade must be done in the open market. Secret dealings by the traders at their homes, warehouses and behind closed doors may disturb the supply flows and thus interfere in the establishment of a natural price-level.[26] Fourth, the traders were not allowed to collude to bid up prices artificially.[27] This clearly indicates a necessity for anti-monopoly measures by the present day state. Fifth, the traders were not allowed to form groups to push new comers out of the market. Free access to market was ensured to anyone who wanted to enter the market. Sixth, the urban traders were not allowed to reach the rural suppliers on their way and to buy off their products at cheaper rates keeping them in darkness about the market condition.[28] Because such an exercise provides undue profit margins to the economically powerful sections at the cost of the unaware villagers. Moreover, this could lead to a cutthroat competition between urban merchants to reach the rural suppliers on their way and thus lead to an unhealthy competition. It suggests that a present day *muhtasib* would have to play a decisive role in disseminating of market information among the rural suppliers and to keep them abreast of the market trends. This would automatically discourage the tendency to buy off cheaply from the ignorant farmers. Seventh, in some of the Muslim countries like Tunis (especially Qairwan) the rural suppliers were provided accommodation, hotels and restshelters near the market place so that they may hold on for a few days and assess the market for themselves before entering into a bargain.[30] The idea was to strengthen the bargaining position of the rural suppliers who may be exploited in urban centres if they do not have a place to stay for a few days. Eighth, the middlemen, who did not add any utility to the products but only reaped margines from buyers and sellers, were disbanned.[31] This was to eliminate a class of exploiters and to streamline the supply flows. Nineth, the interest of merchants as a class was also protected against dumping in the market by a minority of merchants.[32] If a minority of traders could manage to sell a product at an abnormally low price than the prevalent market rate, they were prohibited to do so, as such a trend may damage the interest of the majority. It implies that if an individual or a small group of enterprising businessmen introduces cheaper modes of production, it may lead to mass scale

technological obsolescence, unemployment and plant redundancies. To prevent such a situation the introduction of technological innovations may be regulated by the *hisba* department. The introduction of modern technology may be phased out so that those who are affected may be accommodated in due course. The state may also provide short-term financing to those who have been adversely affected by force of such events. This would keep the incentives unimpaired and the production flows uninterrupted. Tenth, the traders and craftmen were not allowed to hide the defects of a product. Nor were they allowed to make false oaths to sell their products. [33] It suggests that the *muhtasib* may have to regulate the role of advertisements in the present day context. The labels of products and advertisements through commercial media may be scrutinised prior to display to watch the accuracy of their appeals.

(*c*) *Price Controls* :

Price controls or *tas'īr* is not permissible in the *Sharī'ah* in normal circumstances.[34] The holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was requested to fix prices in the Medina market once, as they had gone up considerably. The Prophet (peace be upon him) refused to do so on the plea that the prices should have a natural course.[35] Some of the jurists have concluded from this tradition that *tas'īr* is not permissible in any circumstances. But Imam Ibn Taimiyya has discussed this question at length. His conclusion is that *tas'īr* may not be resorted to if there are no artificial obstructions in the determination of price level in the market. But if there exists market rigidities so that the price level is being manipulated by the economically powerful class to their benefit, the *muhtasib* has a duty to apply corrective measures.[36] One of the objectives of the *Sharī'ah* is to implement *'adl* and to save general public from hardship.[38] It is possible, that powerful groups in the market may manipulate prices by withholding supplies slackening production, dumping output, or by mere collusion. In similar cases the prices may be fixed by the *muhtasib* at a reasonable level which may rehabilitate the natural trends. In the past the *muhtasibs* used to perform this function. There are reports of systems that the prices would be approved by the *muhtasib* periodically and given wide publicity. Delinquent traders were also punished.[39] It implies that in the present day context the *muhtasib* would have to keep himself informed of the overall economic conditions and cost structures in the economy. It may require an independent wing of *muhtasib's* office to carry out this responsibility adequately.

(*d*) *Credit Structure* :

The *muhtasibs'* manuals describe him checking any transactions involving *riba*.[40] This may be in cash sales, barter exchange, exchage of precious metals (*Bai' al-Sarf*), advance payments (*Bai' al-Salam*), or loan (*qard*) transactions. Elements of *riba* may seep into any of these dealings. The *muhtasib* used to lay down forms of agreement permissible in the *Sharī'ah* and those that may involve *riba*. This provides an ample evidence to us that *riba* was not in vogue in

Muslim economies either in theory or in practice. It disproves the claim of those orientalists who have alleged that lending on *riba* had been practised throughout Muslim history despite its Qura'nic prohibition.[41] If literature on *hisba* is any evidence on the Muslim conduct of economies it proves beyond doubt that *riba* did not exist in the credit structure of these economies. Secondly, it spotlights the nature of credit transactions in the economy. The number of ways credit was provided to the needy as well as to the businessman could be catalogued from the literature on *hisba*. It may be a source of inspiration for current research on *riba*-free credit in the Islamic world. It provides us guidance on the malpractices which the creditors may engage in to exploit the debtors. Thirdly, one of the conventional duties of the *muhtasib* were to compel debtors to repay their debts on due dates if they had means to do so.[42] In case the debtor was unable to meet the claim till a later date, he would intervene to get extension from the creditor. And in case the debtor was too indigent to honour the debt, the *muhtasib* may arrange his help from *Zakāt* fund. This shows that the institution of *qard hasana* was backed by state guarantees. It provides guidance for planning a workable system of *qard hasana* for a modern economy.

(*e*) *Ownership Rights* :

It is obvious that the right of private ownership was honoured and protected in Muslim economies. However, the right was not absolute. For example nobody could raise his building to obstruct light or air of his neighbours.[43] Similarly, it was not allowed to install a flour mill or a leather tanning factory in the residential areas as they may pollute the environments. People could not slaughter animals in the streets or houses to avoid unhygienic conditions.[44] It shows that the state had a right to regulate the utilisation of property in public interest. Secondly, the *muhtasib* could compel the well-to-do citizens to contribute finances for arranging water supply, garbage removal or any other communal service if the funds in public treasury were not sufficient.[45] Thirdly, public places or part thereof such as roads, bazars, streets, parks, play-grounds, grazing ground, etc. could not be made the exclusive prerogation of any particular person or a group. It implied the public resources would not be deployed to create a privileged group in the society.

(*f*) *Manpower Utilization* :

One of the functions of the *muhtasib* was to check beggary.[46] Voluntary parasitic begging was severely dealt with while the invalids and economically infirm were provided basic necessities of life from the community *Zakāt* and *Sadaqat*. The *muhtasib* would compel healthy able-to-work individuals to engage themselves in some gainful pursuit. The public works programmes of the government provided ample job opportunities and problem of unemployment of contemporary dimensions had never existed in the Muslim history. However, it would beg a detailed analysis to find out the exact mechanism through which a full employment equilibrium was maintained.

The *muhtasib* felt a special responsibility towards slaves,[47] who provided the bulk of labour power required in trade, industry, agriculture and household. He would ensure that the slaves were provided with basic necessities of life, that they were helped if the work was of a strenuous character and were allowed to take rest after intervals of duty. This was in line with a number of instructions which the holy Prophet (peace be upon him) issued for treating slaves with kindness. It has an implication for the present day industrial labour. The labour may be granted sufficient wages to provide them basic necessities of life. It further implies that the working environments and duty hours may be kept congenial to their health.

The *muhtasib* would also interfere if a complaint was brought to him that an artisan has received the agreed fee (*'Ujra*) for a job but had not performed the job satisfactorily.[48] He would compel the artisan to fulfil his commitment or refund the fee. This indicates that the labour has also an obligation towards the employer. They should work honestly and to the satisfaction of the employer. Legislation may therefore be framed to enforce necessary discipline on industrial labour.

At occasions the *muhtasib* would also determine wage or *'Ujra* of a particular service if the artisan demanded an unreasonably higher wage. In such cases the *'Ujra* would be often, *ujra mithl* (wage acceptable for a similar work by others).[49] It suggests that the *muhtasib* may intervene in the negotiations between trade unions and entrepreneurs. The trade unions, who wield monopoly power on labour, may be prevailed upon by the *muhtasib* to be reasonable in their demands. A similar function is carried out by Industrial Relations Commissions in some countries these days.

(g) *Efficiency in the Public Sector* :

Traditionally the *muhtasib* felt impelled to invite the ruler to adopt a commendable behaviour and refrain from improper conduct. This was based on the Prophetic tradition that the best of the *Jihad* was to pronounce truth (*al-Haqq*) before an oppressive ruler.[50] Therefore, rarely a *muhtasib* would stop short of admonishing a ruler for an improper act. The convention filtered down to the staff of the *hisba* who would come across state functionaries at different echelons of bureaucracy. It endowed the *hisba* staff with an undaunted courage and ruthless impartiality in checking malpractices in government offices. They would deal with complaints of bribery and misappropriation of public funds and take action against those found guilty.

The role of state in the economy has expanded manifold and the size of bureaucracy has also bulged significantly. The quantum of funds handled by state functionaries at each level of government is many times more than the past, when most of the financial powers remained vested in the top administration. Similarly the governments make direct investments in trade and industry and their entire business is handled by the salaried staff. Thus the openings for

corruption have increased many times. Added to this is the laxity of moral standards which has gripped modern societies because of loose contact with the religion. It has increased the need to strengthen functions of *muhtasib* in the public sector.

Some western countries have introduced the office of Ombudsman to look into complaints against administrative conduct of state functionaries. The Ombudsman also investigates into certain cases at his own initiative.[51] A similar institution adopted to the moral fibre of the present day Muslim societies would be just in the tradition of having a *muhtasib*.

Concluding Remarks :

Most of the functions traditionally carried out by a *muhtasib* have been assigned to different departments of the state these days. But it is unfortunate that the high moral standard and the spirit of *'amr bil ma'rūf wa nahi anil munkar* are significantly absent, leading to a high degree of corruption, disregard of public funds, a callous indifference towards justice and fairplay in dealings and selfish individualism. In all probability a *muhtasib*'s office would also soon imbibe all these vices and thus nullify its own existence. This obviously leads one to raise the question: How to make use of a highly valuable institution which was operated successfully for centuries by Muslim states? There is no simple answer to this question. One way could be to evolve this institution at a natural pace. As a first step, the *muhtasib's* office could be established with limited functions. Then a process of training in morality and ethics may be started for the professional staff of the *hisba*. Gradually more functions may be added. A powerful council may be established to oversee the work and conduct of the *hisba*. This council may deal with complaints against the *hisba* staff and grant examplary punishments where necessary. The *hisba* staff may be highly paid so that temptations of wordly life do not coax them away from their statutory role. Another dimension could be widespread dissemination of information on the malpractices of various trades, professions and government departments to raise the level of social consciousness. The increased consciousness on malpractices (*munkarat*) will generate an active society and discourage offenders of public morality.

To lend a wider acceptability to the institution, grass-root participation of the public is necessary. For example a committee of merchants of a particular trade may be elected but headed by a *muhtasib* staff. The *muhtasib* may influence and pressurise the delinquent traders through this committee. Similarly in government offices *muhtasib's* staff may be associated with each office who would perform his official duties primarily by persuasion and cooperation of the staff.

The fundamental need is to raise the moral standards at individual level by enforcing a system of training in houses, schools, mosques and offices. The *muhtasib* can succeed only if the society lends him support by its conduct, otherwise he would also drift into the mainstream of corruption and inefficiency.

NOTES

1. Cowan, M. *A dictionary of Modern written Arabic* Beirut : Librairie du Liban, 1974.
2. al-Māwardī, Akhām al-Sultaniyya, p. 240.
3. See *e.g.*, al-Qurah, 3 : 110, 9 : 71, 22 : 41.
4. *Ibid.*, 3 : 104.
5. *Ibid.*, 22 : 41.
6. See Muslim b. al-Hajjaj b. Muslim al-Sahih, Kitābul Imān, h. 83, 85.
7. *Ibid.*, h. 186.
8. 'Abdul 'aziz b. Muhammad b. Murshad, *Nizām al-Hisba fil Islām*, p. 29.
9. al-Kattātnī, 'Abdul Hayee b. 'Abdul Kabir, *al-Tarātib al-Idariyya*, vol. 1, p. 287.
10. 'Alī Muttaqi, *Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. 3, p. 176.
11. 'Abdul 'azīz, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
12. For historical background see, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden : E. J. Brill, essay on *Hisba.*
13. 'Abdul 'azīz, *op. cit.*, pp. 189—218.
14. For qualifications of a *muhtasib*, see al-Ghazali, *'Ihyā al-'Ulūm*, vol. 2, p. 308 ff.
15. Ibn Taimiyyah, *Al-Hisba fil Islam*, p. 74.
16. al-Māwardī, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
17. al-Ghazāli, *op. cit.*, p. 324 ff.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 320 ff.
19. al-Māwardi, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-44.
20. Foster, B. R. "*Agronomos and Muhtasib*", *J.E.S.H.O.* vol. 13, Part II, April 1970, pp. 128—144.
21. al-Husaynī, Musa, "*The Institution of Hisbah in Early Islam*", p. 35.
22. Encyclopaedia of Islam, *op. cit.*
23. See al-Mārwardi, *op. cit.*
24. Ibn Ukkuwa, *Ma'ālim al-Qurba*, pp. 12-13.
25. Ibn Taimiyyah, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff and Ibn Ukkuwah, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

26. Yahyā b. 'Umar, *Ahkām al-Suq*, pp. 114 ff.

27. Ibn Taimiyyah, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

30. Yahyā b. 'Ukar, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

31. Ibn Taimiyyah, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

33. al-Ghazāli, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

34. Yahyā b. 'Umar, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

35. Tirmidhī, al-Jami 'al-Sahih, al-Buyu', ch. 73.

36. Ibn Taimiyyah, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.

37. al-Qur'an (57 : 25).

38. *Ibid.*, (2 : 185).

39. Encyclopaedia of Islam, *op. cit.*

40. Ibn Ukkuwwa, *op. cit.*, pp. 22—25.

41. Rodinson, M. *Islam and Capitalism*, London : Allen Lane, 1974 pp. 35—37.

42. al-Mawaridi, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

43. Ibn Ukkuwah, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

45. al-Māwardi, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

46. Ibn Ukkuwa, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

49. Ibn Taimiyyah, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

50. al-Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 ff.

51. Stacey, F. *Ombudsman Compared*, Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Al-Qur'an.
2. 'Abdul 'aziz b. Muhammad b. Murshad, *Nizam al Hisba fil Islam*, Riyadh : University of Imam Muhammad b. Sa'ud, 1395 A. H.
3. Ali Muttaqi, *Kanz al-Ummal*, Hyderabad : Da'ira al-Ma'arif al-Nizamiyyah, 1313 A.H.
4. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden : E. J. Brill.
5. Foster, B.R. "*Agronomos and Muhtasib*", Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, Leiden, vol. 13, Pt. II, April 1970, pp. 128—144.
6. al-Ghazali, Muhammad b. Muhammad, *'Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*, Cairo : Isa al-Babi al-Halbi, n.d.
7. al-Hysani, Musa, "The Institution of Hisba in Early Islam", *The Islamic Review and Arab Affairs*, London : Feb. 1969, pp. 30—36.
8. Ibn Taimiyyah, Taqi-al-Din, *al-Hisba fil Islam*, Medina Munawwara : al-Jami 'Islamiya, n.d.
9. Ibn Ukkuwwa, *Mu'alim al-Qurba fi Ahkam al-Hisba* (Trans. and Ed.) Levi Reuben, London : Luzac & Co., 1938 Ref. cited to the English version).
10. Imamuddin, S. M., "al-Hisba in Muslim Spain", *Islamic Culture*, Daccan, vol. 37, No. 1, Jan. 1963, pp. 25—29.
11. al-Kattani, 'Abdul Hayee b. 'Abdul Kabir, *al-Tratib al-Idariyyah*, Beirut : Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi.
12. Mawardi, Ali b. Habib, *Ahkam al-Sultaniyah*, 1368 A.H.
13. Muslim, *al-Sahih*, Beirut : al-Maktab al-Tijari li Taba,a wal-nashar, 1334 A.H.
14. Tirmidhi, *al-Jami al-Sahih*, Cairo : Matba' Mustafa.
15. Yahya b. 'Umar, *Ahkam al-Suq*, Tunis ; *al-Shirka* al-Tunisia lil Tauzi', 1975.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

THE IMPACT OF ISLAM IN SHAPING MODERN CIVILIZATION IN ITS DIFFERENT MANIFESTATIONS

1. A detailed survey and a full picture of the influence of Islam in shaping modern Science and Civilization in its different fields will demand voluminous work and writing of several books and treatises on the subject and as such lies beyond the scope of the present address.

However an attemp shall be made and endeavours put forth to bring to light in brief in this short span of time the *Main Contributions* made by Muslims which changed and revolutionized the destiny of the whole human race ; which was sunk in the deep ditch of darkness, ignorance and illiteracy.

2. Pre-Islamic age was Pre-Scientific age as "ROBERT BRIFFAULT" in his book "Making of Humanity" would put it. He says :—

"Science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world ; but its fruits were slow in ripening. Not until long after Moorish Culture had sunk back into darkness did the giant which it had given birth rise in his might. It was not science only which brought Europe back to life, other and manifold influences from the Civilization of Islam communicated its first glow to European life. (page. 202).

For although there is not a singl: aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of Islamic culture is not traceable ; now here it is clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitutes the permanent distinctive force of the modern world, and the supreme source of its victory/natural Science and the Scientific spirit. (page 109).

The debt of our Science to that of the Arabs does not consist in startling discoveries of revolutionary theories ; Science owes a great deal more to Arab Culture, it owes its existence.

The ancient world was pre-scientific

The Astronomy and Mathematics of Greeks were a foreign importation not thoroughly acclimatized in Greek Culture. The Greeks, systamatized, generalized and theorized, but the patient ways of investigation, the accumulation of positive knowledge, and minute methods of Science detailed and prolonged observations and experimental inquiry were altogether alien to Greek tempramcnt. What we call Science arose in Europe as a result of a new spirit of inquiry of new methods of investigation, of the method of experiment, obseravtion, measurement, of the development of Mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks, That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European World by the Arabs. (p-190)".

3. You will simply wonder to know that the state of ignorance of European people was to this much height that the most of the Norman Kings of England did not know how to sign their names. Great Richard the Lion-Heart who fought with Salahauddin in the Crusades was one of those. The Kings of those times were proud to show that they were master of sword and not of pen, that they were princes not pandits, that the writing was the business of clerk and munshees not of Princes. That was the rule amongst all Arians people too. What to talk of Richard the Lion-Heart.

4. Change came with the Quran. The very first Verse of the Holy Quran begins with اقرأ Read. Read in the name of thy Lord who created اقرأ باسم ربك الذي خلق Read with God consciousness with pure intention for the attainment of the larger ends—the universal purpose. And then the second stage is that of writing the use of ink and pen والقلم Thus Reading and Writing has been made a Religious duty for a Muslim, and that the acquisition of knowl edge has been made compulsory for him, Man and Woman alike says the tradition طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة and then اطلبوا العلم من المهد إلى اللحد acquire knowledge from Cradle to the Grave is the second direction and further seek knowledge even if you have to go to China. اطلبوا العلم ولو كان بالصين

5. Dr. Iqbal in his Book "RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM", while advancing arguments for the finality of Prophet-hood elaborates and elucidates the same idea further and says :—

> "Birth of Islam is the birth of Inductive Intellect. In Islam Prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need of its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot forever be kept in leading strings that in order to achieve full self-consciousness man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of Priest-hood and hereditory Kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Quran and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of Human Knowledge are all different aspects of the same idea of finality". (p.-126-127).

Finality of the mission of Prophet Mohammad (M.P.O.H.) was therefore an announcement that humanity has reached adult-hood so to say : While exercising the responsibility which God has put on Man's shoulders and which Quran describes by the term "Trust" (Amanah), man has achieved autonomy as it were, a right and duty of self-guidance and that he has to discharge that trust and fulfil that responsibility himself with all his conscious efforts and endeavour

6. It was one of the great contribution of Islam that it tried to stop needless and useless, Theological and Philosophical speculations and conjectural discourses about the nature of the Deity not founded on facts and turned man's attention towards His creation. There are innumerable verses in the Holy Quran accompanied by the traditions of the Prophet of Islam (M.P.O.H.) which lay stress on human reason invites man to use his faculties to the full to explore the treasures of Heaven, and Earth, to observe the natural phenomenon, to reflect over it to search and research and thereby collect facts to experiment upon. This mode of inquiry to increase our knowledge that the Quran introduced in detai's, we have come to call by the name Science. The Quran says :—

سَنُرِيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْآفَاقِ وَفِي أَنفُسِهِمْ حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ الْحَقُّ

"We will show them signs in the Universe and within themselves until it becomes manifest to them that this is the" TRUTH (Al-Quran Verse 41 : 53).

7. It was with this spirit that Muslims approached the acquisition of knowledge and engaged themselves in the search of facts. They zealously studied Medicine, Botany, Physiology, Astronomy, Chemistry and patiently accumulated facts in all spheres of nature with religious devotion. The Scientific study of nature became the part of their religion—nay the very essence of religion. (Casual Peeps at Sophia p-14).

8. The result was that it gave birth to new civilization which flowered forth so brilliantly and progressed so rapidly during the first six or seven centuries of Islam that it left a lasting effect and gave light and lustre to Europe—nay to the whole of the world.

9. JABIR BIN HAYAN was Muslim Scientist of 18th Century who is considered as the most famous and outstanding person who introduced the Science of Chemistry and is deemed as the first founder of this Science, who has left more than hundred works on this subject. In the words of "MAX MAYER HALF" his voluminous writings on this topic has greatly influenced the Western mind in this direction.

ZAKRIA RAZI ranks second in this field who has written several Chemical prescriptions in his Book titled "KITAB-UL-ISRAR". Besides them JAHIZ, ABU-MANSOOR, MUFIQ and ABUL-QASIM are well known chemists who have contributed a lot and written several books and treatises in this branch of knowledge.

In the sphere of Physical Sciences the outstanding Scholars who have worked and made contributions in this branch of knowledge are AL-KINDI, JAHIZ, BANU MOOSA, ABU-REHAN-AL-BERUNI, ZAKRIA RAZI and ABDUL REHMAN S/O NASEER. From amongst above the name of AL-KINDI is most famous. Who is considered as one of the most eminent Muslim Thinker

and Philosopher of his times. He has worked on Physics, Chemistry, Philosophy and Music and has 265 Books at his credit on different Sciences. "According to CARDON," "AL-KINDI is one of the greatest Philosopher who is counted and considered as one out of 12 the most famous world philosophers."

ABU-REHAN-AL-BERUNI has many writings and several contributions at his credit. He has written as many as 200 hundred books on different subjects of Science and Philosophy. Survey of his works reveal that he has made research on Medical Science, and its different branches, and on Philosophy, Mathematics, Geology, Chemistry, Geography, Optics, Calculus, Geodesy, Astronomy, Astrology, Poetry and has gone into details and depths of these subjects, and written many books on each and every branch of these sciences.

JAHIZ and DUMARI are well known persons in the world of Islam for their works in the field of Science of Zoology. The well-known book "KITAB-UL-HAIWAN" written by JAHIZ is famous for its detailed analysis of Animal Psychology. The famous work of DUMARI in this field is known by the name "HAYAT-UL-HAIWAN" the Life of Animal which deals with the procreation and different aspects of Animal Life with their historical background respectively. The credit of inventing Telescope goes to ABUL-HASSAN. The credit of inventing first Watch goes to QUTBI.

Muslims were the first who invented Photography and for that the world should be indebted to IBN-UL-HASHIM. Chemicals used in the preparation of Soap were introduced by the Arabs first. The very first observatory of Europe was constructed in Spain. The cloth and paper prepared in the Muslim countries was considered the best throughout the world.

In the field of Medicine none can equal Muslim Physicians, *i.e.*, ZAKRIA RAZI, IBN-SINA and MAJUSI. According to the saying of "MAX MAYER HALF", "RAZI ranks first amongst the Muslims Physicians". He has 200 Books at his credit on the subject. One of his Books titled "KITAB-UL-MANSOORI" is in the ten volumes. IBN-SINA is outstanding famous Physician the world of Islam has ever produced. The famous publication of IBN-SINA titled "AL-KANOON FITIB" consists details of 760 compounds. According to "WILLIAM DRAPER" in the field of plantation and gardening Muslims were the first who had converted Spain into a beautiful Garden, while the condition of the Streets of London and Paris at that time was so bad and so dusty and dirty that the Pedestrians could hardly walk. It is significant to note that no European ever knew how to grind the Glass and make spectacle out of it. But the Muslims had the industry of grinding glass in Spain much earlier and it is from Muslims that they learnt this technique of grinding glasses.

It was ABUL-QASIM UNDLSI the Muslim who invented the Sea-ship first. According to "Philip K. Hitti" the first elements of inventing Aeroplane were introduced by IBN-KARNAS.

10. You will be surprised to know that most of the things which are in our daily use have an Arabic origin. For example Cloth on the Table which is called Cotton Cloth and that قطن is Arabic word from which the word cotton has been derived and that the English language has no any other word for "Cotton". The Marmalade used at one's Break-fast is preparation from Orange which has its origin in Arabic language. In early times in England when one went to sleep at night time one used to take a Candle with himself and went to his bedroom, as some rooms had no Gas Lights. The Candle is from "قندیل" which is an Arabic word. Admiral is from "امیرالبحر" in Arabic some how becomes an Admiral, you may talk of "Cable". The "Cable" is from "حبل" having an Arabic Origin. "A حبل "means (Chord) which you Call "مرسه" in Sindhi Language. So many other words which having an Arabic Origin are used in English and many other languages.

"RAGER BACON" realizing the importance of Arabic language had gone out of his country to learn Arabic and advised his people on his return that there was no other way out to be educated except by learning Arabic. (Extension lecture By Allama I. I. Kazi in Sind University Senate Hall).

11. We have talked a great deal and at length about the contributions of our great Scientists and our glorious past during the past few decades in Romantic Terms, but have unfortunately so far failed Scientifically to appreciate it. The field of Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Chemistry, etc., still remain funadmentally a hidden treasure and the duty to unfathom them devolves on us. We have failed to provide the right conditions whence such an appreciation could emerge. We have not produced men who are both good Scientists and Good Arabic Scholars so that they can dive and delve deep in the treasurers of the past and present before us its correct true picture in full. We are lazy romanticists imaginative and fanciful and talk only for the sake of talking and nothing beyond that. We generally complain and complain bitterly that the West does not appreciate our past greatness and does not recognize the works of our ancestors. But what have we ourselves done so far to get our past appreciated. We only say and finish the talk with this statement that "پدرم سلطان بود،" . This will not help. We should wake up from deep slumber and be hard working honest, sincere and practical in our mission "والذین جاھدوا فینا لنھدینھم سبلنا"

Those who strive and put forth efforts in our way we certainly guide them to the goal and show them our path says the Quran in the terms explicit. SO GOD SPEED.

THE INSTITUTION OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN ISLAM

All religions in the world make charity a cardinal feature of their positive commandments. Nearly all religions consider the helpless orphan, the aged, the chronically sick, the disabled and the destitute as being particularly deserving of charitable assistance and support. Some religions have even set up special institutions to care for the less fortunate members of society and have established special religious cadres whose vocation in life is to care for the destitute, the aged and the chronically sick.

But Islam is the only religion which has not only decreed the minimum proportion of one's wealth or production from the land which must annually be given away in the form of Zakat but has also made this an enforceable obligation. Islam has further specified the categories to whom the Zakat funds should be distributed. The Holy Koran pronounced the decree in the following words :—

> "Alms are for the Poor and the Needy and those employed to Administer (the funds) and for those whose Hearts are to be reconciled (to Truth) and for those in Bondage and for those in Debt and for the Cause of Allah and for the Wayfarer— thus ordained it is by Allah and Allah is All-Knowing, Wise"
>
> (Ch. 9 Verse 60)

Thus in clear unambiguous language the Koran has specified eight categories of expenditure for which Zakat funds must be disbursed among which six relate to vulnerable groups in any society. Instead of leaving the matter of collection and distribution of Zakat to personal conscience or whims of individual believers the Koran has actually made the obligation enforceable by those in authority be they Muslim or non-Muslim. The mandatory decree is the following :—

> "Take alms (Zakat) out of their wealth so that thou mayest cleanse them and purify them thereby. And pray for them: thy prayer is indeed a source of tranquility for them. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing"
>
> (Ch. 9 Verse 103)

In compliance with the above commandments the Prophet and his immediate successors established a special institution to collect the ZAKAT and distributed it as decreed by Allah thus giving birth to the renowned BAITIL MAL. One can write at great length about the economic, social and ideological significance

of ZAKAT as an institution and what great Muslim rulers had done to eradicate destitution in their societies through honest and judicious management of Zakat funds. The cardinal importance of ZAKAT in Islam was underlined most unforgettably by the First Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Abubakr who waged war on the neighbouring tribes of Abs and Zabyan for refusing to pay Zakat while accepting all other Islamic commandments. The Caliph decided to bring them back to the "straight path" by force of arms.

In acting as he did Hazrat Abu Bakr was demonstrating that the Muslim Umma cannot survive if its members refuse to acknowledge the mandatory character of the Zakat. Refusing to pay Zakat is like refusing to pay some Governme ent taxes which is only one step short of refusing to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Government which imposes those taxes. Zakat being a divinely ordained tax and its disbursement also being divinely ordained, the First Caliph had no option but to use the full powers and sactions of the State to make the "refusers" submit to it. He saw no distinction between "refusal" and "subversion" as indeed there was none.

Zakatul Fitr :

But while one always tends to associate Zakat with wealth it is imperative to remember the other Zakat which Islam has imposed which has no necessary link with wealth. This is the Fitr which falls due at the end of Ramadhan and is payable by all able bodied individuals except those who are very poor and destitute. One can roughly call this a Poll Tax while the other Zakat may be termed Income Tax. The Fitr is payable either in kind (staple food) or in cash. The head of every household is required to pay the Fitr for himself and for all dependant members of the household. The amount payable is very small, less than Rupees 5 per person, in Pakistan, but its liability is so wide as to encompass even a newly born baby. Unemployed grown ups who have a spare set of clothes are required to sell these to discharge their Fitr obligations. And everyone is required to have discharged his Fitr obligation by sunset of the first day of Idd-ul-Fitr.

Thus Islam has not only imposed financial obligations on people having a certain level of production from the land or personal savings but has, through the Fitr, universalised the principle of giving something out of one's possessions virtually to the whole adult community. In a sense Islam wants everybody to accept some responsibility towards his fellow beings.

Scholars can write dissertations and learned papers on the purpose, significance and role of these divinely ordained taxes on society and its cohesion. They can also investigate new sources of wealth against which Zakat might be collected and even purpose new categories of vulnerable groups that may be included among the beneficiaries considering that some like slaves have virtually disappeared. The subject of Zakat is vast and multi-dimensional yet so relevant to the on-going debate on the "New International Economic Order" that those with requisite nowledge should be encouraged to write at length about it.

Obligations Additional to the Zakat :

The real purpose of this paper is not to deal with the Zakat as such but to draw attention to other obligations which Allah has imposed on the believers which are additional to the mandatory taxes (Zakatul Mal and Zakatul Fitr). These additional obligations have been emphasised so consistently and persistently that were Muslims to implement what they are exhorted to do, even half-heartedly, social welfare within the Community would have been so advanced as to provide a model to the whole world. This is what the Holy Prophet said when exhorting his followers to be generous in assisting others :—

> "There are other claims on wealth beside that of Zakat"

And the Koran has specified these other claims in many passages. Though no minimum proportion has been specified about what should be disbursed to discharge these additional obligations, the Koran has firmly declared that the fulfilment of these obligations is a clear test of one's faith. The relevant passage reads as follows :—

> "It is not righteousness that you turn your faces to the East or the West, but truly righteous is he who believes in Allah and the last day and the Angels and the Book and the Prophets and spends his money for the love of Him, on the kindred and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and those who ask for charity and for ransoming the captives and who observes Prayer and pays the Zakat and those who fulfil their promise when they have made one and the patient in tribulation and adversity and in time of panic. It is these who have proved truthful and it is these who are the God-fearing"
>
> (Ch. II Verse 177).

It is obvious from the text that extending assistance and support to one's relatives, the orphans, the needy, the wayfarer, those who ask for charity and for ransoming slaves are all obligations which have been placed on the prosperous believers in addition to the payment of Zakat. It is also significant that the Verse specifies six categories of vulnerable people upon whom compassion is strongly urged "for the Love of Him". When one compares the six categories mentioned in the above passage with the eight categories mentioned in the Verse prescribing how Zakat funds should be disbursed one finds three items to be common to both lists: the needy, the wayfarer and those in bondage. It is very clear therefore that by decreeing Zakat as well as additional help for those three

vulnerable groups Allah wanted the Umma to do everything possible to progressively reduce the magnitude of the problems they face with a view to eventual elimination. This view is reinforced by the fact that Allah includes among the eligibles for receiving Zakat "the poor" who, in practical terms, are indistinguishable from "the needy". One possible intention is that the same people should receive Zakat twice under the different "labels" and then qualify for additional assistance "out of Love of Him". If all this assistance were effectively given there would be no beggars in Muslim societies except for pathological cases.

So far as assisting wayfarers was concerned Muslims were the first to establish special places for them, Misafarkhans, and rightly acquired a reputation for being generous and hospitable to all travellers. Perhaps because of this tradition Muslims became avid travellers themselves. The same may be said as regards the ransoming of slaves. No other religion has stressed the obligation to do so with such force and persistence.

It is worth noting that Islam preaches strongly against extravagance and wastefulness and calls those who squander resources "brothers of Satan". But in the context of assisting worthy causes, the Koran sets no upper limit to what should be given. Indeed it encourages philanthropy almost to the point where one may verge on jeopardising his own personal finances. This point is brought out vividly in the following passage wherein the Koran commends the righteous people as being :—

> "Those who spend (freely) whether in prosperity or in adversity, who restrain (their) anger and pardon (all) men—for Allah loves those who do Good"
>
> (Ch. III Verse 134)

As always the best practitioner of the teachings of the Koran is the Holy Prophet himself. His exemplification of this teaching is depicted in the following passage :—

> "There has come unto you a Prophet from amongst yourselves, so concerned is he of everything that may be a burden on you, so solicitous of your welfare, and to the believers so compassionate and merciful"
>
> (Ch. 9 Verse 128)

Indeed the whole life of the Prophet is nothing but a demonstration of social concern and compassion for the welfare of his followers and the under privileged. He gave whatever he had to whoever appeared in greater need and he always placed the needs of others above those of himself and his own family. He regularly visited the sick, took care of the orphans, freed the one bondsman who belonged to him and freely shared whatever he had to eat with whoever visited him

at meal times. Many times he and his family had nothing to eat yet when the situation improved he never desisted from giving. When he died, though an undisputed Rule of the first Islamic State, he was still a humble man of moderate habits who was always generous and compassionate to others as he had been throughout his life.

The Prophet, his wives and honoured Companions always recognised that whatever they had was actually given to them in trust to be spent for advancing the cause of Allah and the welfare of His people. On the nineth year of the Hijra when the Prophet was organising the Tabuk Expedition to repel an invasion of inland Arabia by armies of the Eastern Roman Empire originating from Syria, he invited his companions to go home and bring whatever they could give to finance the expedition. Hazrat Omar returned with half of his wealth. When he later heard Hazrat Abu Bakr say that he had brought all his wealth, Hazrat Omar immediately realised that he had been deservedly surpassed. It was that selfless spirit so characteristic of the first century of Islam which made the early Muslims establish such an unbeatable record.

Social Welfare in Islam and in other Religions :

One might say : "this is all very well but in what way is the doctrine of social welfare in Islam fundamentally different from that of other religions ?" In reply one might point out, that in the first place, by making Zakat mandatory, by specifying the minimum proportion which must be paid and by prescribing who are to receive the Zakat, Islam has actually transformed Zakat from charity to taxation. No other religion has done this in a such clear, practical and enforceable manner.

Secondly by defining the beneficiaries of Zakat, Islam has actually decreed the minimum level of social welfare budget which is to be financed by the Umma. To the extent that the total needs of the categorised items of expenditure are not satisfied by what is collected the Umma itself (it may be humbly suggested) is required to make additional efforts to close the deficit. It might do this through supplementary collections either by recognising new sources of wealth as being liable to Zakat or by calling for voluntary donations. Viewed in this light Zakat collections become a dynamic factor of welfare administration and not a static element as is everywhere the case today.

Thirdly in Islam those who receive Zakat are the rightful owners of the funds and NOT simply "worthy causes". The Zakat administrator or individual distributor is not doing the recipients any favour or special kindness in giving them their allotment. Islam confers on the specified beneficiaries full respect and dignity at the time of pay out. Islam also requires that Zakat distribution should take account of the needs of the recipients not only for survival but also for them to become self-supporting. During the short era of the Omayyad Ruler, Omar ibn Abdulaziz, the administrators of Zakat had great difficulty finding eligible

people because so many poor persons had, through previous judicious distribution become self-supporting. What a contrast to the current situation when one finds, especially during Ramadhan, long queues of believers almost fighting each other to reach those issuing cash. This method of distributing Zakat is degrading and serves no useful purpose as what is given is necessarily small to reach as many people as possible. Some reform is urgently needed.

Fourthly social welfare in Islam not only recognises the obligation to assist those in real need but also recognises that some of the needy people will, because of their modesty and self esteem, endure severe hardship and pain rather than beg for charity. Islam places an obligation on the prosperous members of the community and on the welfare administrators to seek out this small category of modest people in order that the assistance they need may be given to them. No other religion commends and upholds modesty, self restraint and uncommercialised virtue to such a degree.

Welfare Administration under New Guidelines :

The experience of all modern Governments that provide Social Security Programmes with or without supplementary benefits is that there are a number of people who try to secure assistance to which they are not entitled. Thus all relevant agencies or departments of these Governments devise elaborate questionnaires aimed at catching those who try to live by their wits instead of doing honest work like other people.

This prospect of joining a queue, filling a questionaire and being subjected to close questioning by suspicious officials is already repelling some individuals in all the rich industrialised countries from seeking public assistance. They consider it more dignified to eat up their private savings and when these are exhausted, to endure their hardships rather than submit to hostile questioning by those who are supposed to be helpful and compassionate. Some welfare administrators of the rich countries have began to realise that their "dispassionate" methods may be deterring a few souls from receiving assistance to which they are fully entitled. The problem is that they do not yet know how to reach these sensitive persons.

Allah, in a final Message that was revealed over 1400 years ago, indicated how this problem might be solved. He did this (as previously mentioned) by making the welfare administrators and the well to do individuals, directly responsible for identifying those few individuals who will not join a queue or reveal their hardships publicly. There are several verses which urge this most humane approach to alleviating social distress among which are the following :—

" Referring to the conduct of good believers Allah says : "And in their wealth is a share for one who asks and for one who refrains from begging"

(Ch. 9 Verse 20)

To the pilgrims who slaughter their sacrificial animals on completion of the Hajj, Allah's commandment is direct and apposite :

"............Then eat thereof and feed the distressed, the needy......"

(Ch. 22 Verse 29)

He repeats the commandment in the same chapter saying :

"..........Then eat thereof and feed him who is in need (but refrains from begging) and him who supplicates................"

(Ch. 22 Verse 36)

The urgent desirability of extending assistance without waiting to be asked is highlighted again in the following passage wherein Allah describes the strong characteristic of the people of virtue in these words :

"And they feed, for love of Him,
the poor, the orphan and the captive.
Saying, 'We feed you for Allah's
pleasure only. We desire no reward nor thanks from you"

(Ch. 76. Verses 8 and 9)

Again and again it is emphasised that the assistance be given without making the beneficiaries feel either of less worth or under special personal obligation to the donor. Islam stresses that Allah alone will reward those who help their fellow men depending on the purity of their motives. A famous tradition of the Prophet says : "Allah will shower His favours on a mortal so long as the mortal is giving aid to his fellow being".

Islam teaches that disinterested philanthropy purifies the giver and enhances his spiritual stature. This "cleansing" aspect is one ground for the levying of Zakat on those who God has made prosperous. The following verses throw further light on the same point :—

"Ah, what will convey unto thee
what the Ascent is"!—

(It is) to free a slave,
And to feed in the day of hunger,
An orphan near of Kin,
Or a person in abject poverty"

(Ch. 90 Verses 12 to 16)

So those who really wish to ascend to higher spiritual heights are urged to show concern for their fellow men and to give aid without waiting to be asked by the slave seeking freedom or the orphan or those in serious distress. Islam authorises the giving of Zakat or alms to be made either in public or in private but there

is no doubt that it prefers welfare to be administered in privacy as far as possible. In large industrial or commercial cities this may not be feasible and there are also dangers of fraud and forgery where things are administered under great secrecy. Yet income tax administration operates under acceptable secrecy and there is no reason why welfare funds cannot be managed the same way. Confidentiality as well as compassion are the hall-marks of good welfare administration as underlined below :—

> "A kind word and forgiveness are better than charity followed by annoyance. And Allah is self-sufficient, Forbearing"
>
> (Ch. II Verse 263)

Who is to have priority among those deserving of Support?

As all philanthropic individuals and donor agencies know the number of worthy causes and their cost always exceed the resources available to meet them. The practical question then arises as to which causes or persons one should give priority to. The Holy Koran answers this question in the following words :—

> "(Alms are) for those in need,
> who in Allah's cause,
> are restricted (from travel) and
> seeking (opportunities for trade or
> employment). The ignorant thinks,
> because of their self-restraint,
> that they are well off. Thou shalt
> know them by their (unfailing) mark :
> They beg not importunately from all
> and sundry. And whatever good you
> give, be assured Allah knoweth
> it well"
>
> (Ch. II Verse 273)

The cardinal point to remember is that the difficult circumstances affecting the self-restraining people must arise from their involvement "in Allah's cause". In other words they must be people who cannot migrate to seek better prospects because of some role they are playing in religious work, or because of having aged parents to look after or because they are physical handicapped or are affected by one or other circumstance of similar nature. If they have no good reason for remaining idle where they are then they do not deserve special attention.

The means for distinguishing or identifying the priority cases from the others is *knowledge*. The Koran has purposely called those who fail to identify such individuals as "the ignorant" meaning that they lack requisite knowledge which can be acquired. The current stock of knowledge and techniques in the field of social services and welfare are vast but capable of being easily acquired. It is not difficult to collect data on special cases that merit non-routine treatment. The main problem with modern welfare administrators is that they appear more concerned with preventing non-deserving fellows from getting benefits than in ensuring

that all who qualify for aid actually receive it. May be such cases are best left to individuals to handle rather than impersonal organisations as Islam has done in all the commandments that have been quoted in this paper.

A welfare agency operating under Islamic principles would place all its emphasis on inducing those who are entitled to come for the aid rather than on trying to exclude those who are not entitled. This radical change of emphasis would be made because a true Islamic State must consider it a *social sin* if a member of the community is starving while a few others are living in super-luxury. The good Muslim Rulers of the past were painfully aware of their ultimate responsibility in this regard and Hazrat Omar bin Khattab, the Second Caliph is a good case in point.

Muslim social scientists have an urgent duty to come forward with a new social theory based on the Koran together with a new methodology of implementation to facilitate the actualisation of Islamic social values. Since any man made system is bound to be imperfect, let them accept that it is better that ten unworthy persons should receive aid rather than one deserving individual should be denied it. Islamic law recognises Allah as the ultimate judge so the cheats will be held to account for their misdeeds if not on earth then on the day of Judgement. There are pressing questions of the moment which are crying for answers. They are : who takes responsibility for a child which dies of malnutrition because the parents were destitute, or the disabled who goes without artificial limbs or technical aids because he is poor or a worker who catches pneumonia because of unsanitary housing?

The God who sent Muhammad as a *mercy* to all mankind demands a constructive response from the Muslim Umma which is celebrating the 15 Hijra Centenary.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

CONTRIBUTION OF ISLAM TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE AND DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

1. Islam and Scientific Studies :

Islam, being a complete system of life and a comprehensive code of conduct, made quest for knowledge and acquisition of learning obligatory for all Muslim male and female. It assigned utmost importance on the balanced development of all the human faculties; physical and mental, intellectual and spiritual, through proper education (Ta'lim) and appropriate training (tarbiyah). The Holy Qur'an the fountain-head of all wisdom and sciences (hikma) asserts that the most noblest mission of the Holy Prophet of Islam (s) was to read the Divine message and to proclaim that Allah, the Lord of the universe, was most bountifull to mankind as he taught them that which they knew not, by the use of the pen [1]. In another verse pen is stated as the foundation of the Divine Revelation and the symbol of knowledge [2]. In many of the verses it is stated that Allah taught Adam the nature and qualities of all things and matters [3].

These and many other verses clearly indicate that teaching includes reading and writing and that knowledge comprises both theoretical studies and practical researches in different branches of human knowledge, including knowledge of the creator and all the created beings and things. In the Holy Qur'an knowledge and wisdom (hikmah, ma'rifiah) is declared as the most precious gift of Allah for mankind[4]. One of the greatest favour of Allah for mankind was that He sent His last Messenger with His eternal message to educate the un-lettered (ummi) and the ignorant (jahil) by rehearsing unto them the signs of God, by instructing them in the divine Scripture and 'wisdom', and thereby deliver them from error and sanctifying them from wickedness [5].

To ensure a harmonious development of the whole personality, it is necessary to take appropriate measures for the balanced development of the faculties of thinking, feeling and willing, the three components of which personality is made up. In the several verses of the Holy Qur'an, people are constantly urged to harness all their faculties and to utilize all the sources of knowledge. The Holy Qur'an repeatedly exhorts the people to think, to ponder, to observe, to reason, to analyse and to deduce (tafaqqur, tadabbur, tafaqquh and i'tibar etc). The Holy Qur'an is very emphatic in exhorting the people to study seriously the nature and the natural phenomenon—the high blue sky above with the sun and

---

1. Al-Qur'an, 96 : 3-5.
2. Al-Qur'an 68 : 1.
3. Al-Qur'an 2 : 31.
4. Al-Qur'an, 2 : 269.
5. Al-Qur'an, 2 : 151 ; 3 : 164 ; 62 ; 2.

moon, the stars and planets and other heavenly bodies, the earth below, the habitation of mankind, spread marvellously with plains, valleys, hills, deserts, seas etc. plants, trees, animals etc.,[1]. The believers are even inspired to come out of their houses and go to remote places in the quest of knowledge and attain high proficiency in religious knowledge so that they may serve the people as their guides and leaders after their return.[2]

The Prophet of Islam (s.) in order to fulfil his noble mission devoted his whole life for the elevation of mankind from the depth of degradation and for their deliverance from the darkness of ignorance and immorality by spreading the light, of Divine knowledge. In pursuance of the very first Divine command to read and write, the very first act of the Prophet (s.) in the sphere of education was to open a centre of learning and prayer at "Dar-al-Arqam" to teach the early believers the Revealed Text. The Dar-al-Arqam was, therefore, the first centre of Islamic learning in Mecca before Hijra. Again, his first act on first arrival at Madina was the construction of a mosque for prayer and learning with an attached house to serve as the institution of regular Islamic teaching known as the Madrasah of "al-Suffah". Thus, within a short span of 23 years, the Prophet (s.) wonderfully succeeded in raising a powerful and highly enlightened *Ummah*, who dedicate their lives, energies and wealth for acquisition and diffusion of knowledge.

This noble example of the Prophet (s.) was followed by the muslims and mosques became centres of learning throughout the Muslim world. Besides the mosques, separate Madrasah and seminaries for teaching and training, Academies for Scientific researches and translation of books from different languages into Arabic, and Libraries for special reading, references and complition of monumental works were soon established all over the vast Muslim empire. As a result of such energentic and extensive educational activities of the Muslims during the golden period of their rule, there was not found a single village throughout the Muslim countries where necessary educational facilities were not provided for all the inhabitants, irrespective of high and low, rich and poor, caste and creed. In big cities, famous institutions of higher learning, known as Madrasahs and Jami'as, were established where eminent scholars and reputed savants used to impart instruction on various branches of knowledge. In Hejaz, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Spain, Turkey, Indian sub-continent and other Muslim regions of Asia and Africa famous seminaries of learning and Academies of advanced studies were established by the Muslim rulers, wazirs, noble and rich peoples, learned 'Ulama and devout sufi saints, where Muslim and non-Muslim students from far and wide flocked in large numbers to quench their thirst for knowledge. While Europe was passing through dark ages, these Muslim Universities and Colleges carried the torch of leraning for centuries, illuminating the path for human pro-

1. Al-Qur'an 7 : 185 ; 29 : 20 ; 50 ; 6-11 ; 88 ; 17 etc. commentary of Allama Yusuf Ali.
2. Al-Qur'an, 9 : 122.

gress and prosperity in all spheres of life. In the universities of Cordova, Gronada, Cairo, Domescus, Baghdad, Bukhara and Nishapur etc., not only the Muslims but a large number of students of different faith and culture, specially christians and jews also studied theology, philosophy, physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy etc. under eminent Muslim scholars and professors.

2. Origin and development of different branches of Islamic learning:

a. *Linguistic Sciences* :

During the life time of the Porphet (s.) the Qur'an and the Sunnah were the two main subjects of studies for the Muslims. All other branches of Islamic Sciences grew out of these two fountain-heads. The Holy Qur'an, being the first book written in Arabic language, the first branch of learning that grew out of this sacred book is 'Ilm al-Qira'at, "Ilm-al-Tajwid". The necessity of correct reading and recitation of the sacred text of the Divine Qur'an brought into existence "Ilmal-Qira'at" (the science of recitation), 'Ilm-al-Aswat (phonetics), which later on developed as "Ilm al-Musiqui" (musical science)[1]. The necessity of preserving the Divine Scripture accurately and correctly in writing led to the develop ment of Arabic script and calligraphy ('Ilm or Fann-al-Khatt). Similarly, the knowledge of the linguistic sciences became most essential in order to have a right understanding of the Holy Text. Hence it was necessary to frame rules of Arabic composition and grammar with its various branches such as 'Ilm-al-Saraf (Morphology), 'Ilm-al-Nahw syntax (Ilm al-Balagate (Rhetoric) 'Ilm-al-Urud (Prosody) al Mu'jam (lexicography), 'Ilm-al-Ishti-qaq and Fiqh-al-Lugah (philology). This also led to the extensive study of ancient Arabic poetry and rise of different schools of thought in Qiraat, grammar at Baghdad, Basra and Kufa.[2]

h. *Speculative Sciences* :

The Holy Qur'an preaches true Monotheism (tawhid) and opposes all kinds and forms of atheism, dualism, trinity, polytheism, heathenism and paganism. Detailed discussions on these topics among the believers and polemics with christians, Jews and pagans began in the life-time of the Prophet. Later on, to meet challanges of Greek dialectics, the Muslim Scholars felt the necessity of developing their own speculative sciences which resulted in the birth of different theological, mystical and philosophical schools in Islam. Ilm-al-Kalam (Scholasticism), Tasawwf (Mysticism), Hikmat (Science) and Falsafa (Philosophy) was later on developed as independent disciplines. The famous theological and scholastic schools are : Murjiah, Jabariyah. Qadriah, Jamiyah, Ikhwan-al Safa, Mu'tazila, Asha'riah and Maturidiah.

---

[1] Dr. Hamidullah, Introduction to Islam, 1970, p. 186.

[2] *Vide*—jurji zidan, Tarikh Adab-al-Lughal 'Arabia, vol. I., pp. 189—228 and vol. pp. 11-14, Ahmed Hasin AL-Zayat, Tarikh al-Adab al-'Arabi, p. 191—195, Suyuti, Al-Itqam fi'Ulum al-Qur'an.

c. *'Uloom-al-Qur'an* :

Another important branch of Qur'anic studies that came into existence during the life time of the Prophet is 'Ilm-at-Tafsir—the Science of Qur'anic exegesis. The Prophet taught the companions not only the reading of the holy Qur'an but he also explained to them the meaning of different Verses. Later on, as a result of intensive and extensive studies of the Divine Book for literary, theological, legal, historical and many other purposes, some hundred branches of Qur'anic sciences known as 'Uloom-al-Qur'an came into being. According to Al-Ghazali there are seven thousand branches of Qur'anic sciences, out of which he mentioned two hundred branches in his Ihyaal-'uloom. Imam Suyuti in his "Al-Itqan fi" 'Uloom-al-Qur'an has dealt at length with a large number of Qur'anic sciences, while in a separate chapter he has shown the Qur'an as the main source and spring-head from which all branches of Islamic learning came into existence.

d. *'Uloom-al-Hadith* :

The theological, legal and ethical principles and various tenets and injunctions of the Qur'an can correctly be understood and interpreted in the light of the sayings, actions and approval of the Prophet. Accordingly the Hadith and Sunnah of the Prophet (Sl.) became one of the most important subjects of sutudies among the Muslims. A group of devout religious savants devoted their lives for the collection and compilation of the authentic traditions of the Prophet with earnest zeal and utmost care. In order to keep the Hadith literature free from all kinds of interpolation and deformation unique scientific methodology of analysis and verification was invented by the great traditionists and an extremely rigorourcus system of authentication and scrutiny was employed by them for accepting a hadith as sound and genuine. Attestation of every tradition by trustworthy witnesses in all cases and all stages of transmission was one of the essential requirements to prove the genuniness of a hadith and to maintain its integrity through ages. Such critical studies of the canonical traditions led to the development of different branches of 'uloomal-Hadith' (sciences of canonical traditions), such as 'usul-al-Hadith' (Principle of Hadith), 'Ilm-al-Isnad' (Science of authentications and attestation), and 'Ilm-al-Rijal' (Biographical science) etc.

e. *Legal, Social and Physical Sciences* :

If correct understanding, as well as defence of Islamic belief and faith, demanded cultivation of various theological sciences, performance of different services of religious worship and rituals necessitated the development and codification of Qur'anic laws in the form of 'Ilm-al-Fiqh (Jurisprudence) and usul-al-Fiqh (science and philosophy of law). Even during the cultivation of purely Shari'ah law, necessity was felt for the study of a number of other disciplines which are termed as secular sciences. Performance of 'Salat' prayer at due time, towards Ka'ba, and Sawm (fasting) during a fixed lunar month, required the study of

'Ilm-al-Hayat' and 'Ilm-al-Nujum' (astronomy and astrology); Assessment and payment of Zakat tax and distribution of 'Mirath' among the legal sharer, required knowledge of Mathematics.

In the Holy Qur'an references are made to many ancient races and nations of different countries, indicating the causes of rise and fall of many people. So, in order to understand the Qur'an in the light of historical events, the Muslims were inspired to study and develop social sciences, including history and geography. The study of the Islamic history as an independent discipline began among the Muslims with the study of the life of the Prophet. Study of the world history began with the life of Prophet Adam and other prophets. The Qur'an constantly urges people to study natural phenomena and mediate over the creation of the universe and origin of mankind. It is, therefore, no wonder if the Muslims were attracted very early to serious study of the Physics, Chemistry, Botany and Zoology.

The striking rapidity of expansion of Islam in the three continents, coincided with the astonishing rapidity of development of various branches of human knowledge and learning among the Muslims. Victorious march of Islam in any country was always followed by tremendous intellectual activities, cultural movements and systematic organisation and establishment of educational institutions, academies and libraries. Islamic principles of universal brotherhood, social justice, equality of human rights and above all, tolerant attitude of the Muslim rulers to their non-Muslim subjects, attracted people of different races, nationalities, religious and culture towards Islam. Muslim rulers of different dynasties in different parts of the vast Muslim empire were famous for their liberal patronage of education and learning and due to their munificent patronage, learned scholars of various races and religions—Arab and non-Arab, attended their courts and devoted their whole energies and genious for the development of different arts and sciences among the Muslims and progress of Islamic culture and Muslim civilisation. As all noble and meritorious actions are considered in Islam as " Ibadat ", all sciences and learning were termed as "Islamic sciences" without any distinction between religious and secular sciences and all these sciences were included in the courses of studies of the colleges and universities which were established in different periods in different countries of the Muslim world. It will be appropriate to deal briefly here with the history of the development of Islamic system of education and institutions of Islamic learning.

3. Development of Islamic system of education :

The foundation of Islamic system of education was laid by the Prophet (Sm.) himself as indicated before. The first formal education began with the teaching of the recitation of the Holy Qur'an (Qira'at al Qur'an). The house of 'Arqam' at Mecca was selected by the Prophet (Sm.) as the centre of learnings and place of worship for his companions, who used to assemble there secretly and had the great fortune and privilege of learning the revealed Text from the lips of the Holy

Prophet himself. 'Dar-al-Argam' was, therefore, the first Madrasah in Islam and the Prophet Muhammad (Sm.), universally recognised as the greatest teacher of the mankind, was the most revered first teacher of this Madrasah. After migration to Madina, the 'Masjidun Nabi' was utilized as the centre of informal Islamic teaching. But the lodge attached to this mosque and known as "al-suffah" was in fact the first residential model school of Islam. The Prophet (Sm.) himself used to teach his companions at the mosque as well as at the Madrasah of "al-suffah". Later on he used to depute some trained companions as teachers of this Madrasah for imparting lessons on different subjects. Among the companions who served as teachers of "al-suffah" Madrasah were : 'Abdullah b Rawaha, (d. 8 A.H.) 'Ubada b Samit, (d. 34 A.H.) Abu 'Ubaida b. al Jarrah, (d. 8 A.H.). Teaching of the women was also not neglected. The Prophet (Sm.) fixed a day in a week exclusively for the teaching of the women.[1]

The subjects of teaching in the Madrasah of "al-suffah" included (i) Qira'at-al-Qur'an, (ii) Islamic rituals, (iii) Calligraphy, (iv) Arab geneology, (v) horse-riding, (vi) archery and (vii) some foreign languages. It is evident that when this system of education was initiated by the Prophet (Sm.) himself, he took into consideration, the religious, spiritual and physical needs of the individual as well as the various requirements of the society in which the individual lived.

The noble example set by the Prophet (Sm.) for acquisition and dissemination of knowledge was scrupulously followed by his companions and followers. After his death a group of illustrious companions devoted their lives for spreading knowledge and teaching of Islam among the Muslims of different regions. Mosques were mainly the centres of education everywhere. 'Abdullah bin 'Umar (d. 73 A.H.), Zayed b. Thabit (d. 45 A.H.), Jabir b. 'Abdullah (d. 74 A.H.), and 'Aysha Siddiqa (d. 57 or 58 A.H.), taught in the Mosque of Medina; 'Abdullah b. Abbas (d. 68 A.H.) in the Mosque of Mecca; 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud (d. 32 A.H.) in the mosque of Kufa, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (d. 52 A.H.) in the mosque of Basra, and Abu Darda (d. 32 A.H.) in the mosque of Damascus.[2] It is stated that 4,000 students used to attend Ibn Mas'ud's mosque-Madrasah at Kufa, 1,600 hundred students at the mosque Madrasah of Damascus. According to one narration, in the grand Umayyad mosque of Damascus there were one hundred groups of 40 students each with one teacher for each group and one Sahabi used to supervise all these groups. In the mosque of Hims, it is said, 32 companions of the Prophet (Sm.) used to deliver lectures regularly on Qur'an and Hadith one after another according to routine. These innumerable mosque-madrasahs sprang up all over the Muslim countries even during the Umayyad rule, where eminent Sahabis and Tabyi'un used to impart instruction mainly on Qur'an and Hadith.

[1] Bukhari : Sahih, Kitab-al-'Ilm.

[2] Al-Khudari : Tarikh-al-Tashri-ul-Islami, 1930, pp. 130-31; Abdul Raziq Tombiddi Tarikh-al-Talsafah-ul-Islamiyyah, 1944, p. 169-70; Shah Waliullah: Hujjatullah-al-Baligha, Vol. 1, p. 105.

Principle subjects of study during the first century Hijrah (622—721 A.D.) were : 1. Qira'at and Hifzul Qur'an 2. Tafsir 3. Hadith 4. Fiqh 5. Arabic language and 6. one or two foreign languages. It may be noted here that the necessity of learning some foreign languages was felt during the life time of the Prophet (Sl.) in connection with official correspondence and preaching of Islam. The work of translation of the Qur'an into other languages started from the time of the Prophet (Sl.). Salman al-Farsi is credited with the first translation of parts of the Qur'an into Persian. The Revenue records (Diwan al Kharaj) of Iraq and Iran were translated from Persian into Arabic by Salih b. Abdur Rahman on order of Hajjaj b. Yusuf (d. 95 A.H.); the Syrian revenue records from Roman into Arabic by Abu Thabit Sulaiman b. Sa'ad; those of the Egypt from coptic into Arabic by Ibn Yarbu' al-Fazzari during the Caliphate of Walid b. 'Abdul Malik (705—715 A.D.).[1]

Study of ancient history became popular during the reign of Amir Mu'awiyah (661—683 A.D.). 'Ubaid b. Sharyah compiled the "Kitab al Muluk wa Akhbar al Madina" at his instance.[2] Abu Athal, a Christian Physician, translated several medical books into Arabic also at his instance. History of Persian Kings was translated into Arabic at the instance of Hisham b. Abdul Malik (723—742) by his Secretary Salim. Study of Medical Science, Chemistry and Astronomy, etc. also began during the Umayyad period. Khalid b. Yazid (d. 85/704), known as the first Arab scientist, is said to have studied medicine, Chemistry and Astronomy and wrote 3 books on Chemistry. He is also credited for establishing a great Library and a translation Bureau. Some books on Chemistry, Medicine, Astronomy and Arts & Crafts were also translated into Arabic at his instance.[3]

The mosque of the Prophet (Sl.) at Medina, with the attached 'al-suffah' Madrasah, served as a model for almost all the mosques built later on throughout the Muslim world. On the pattern of "al-suffah", halls and annexes were also built alongside many mosques to serve as residential educational institutions. A considerable number of mosques had attached big public libraries. The system of education in the mosques inaugurated by the Prophet (Sl.) was further expanded by his companions and followers. "The second Khalif appointed a number of learned to lecture in mosques in the new cantonments of Kufa, Basra, Damascus and other places on Islamic teaching. There were called Qass, which means narrators, but instead of old legendary stories as told in pre-Islamic days, they recited from Qur'an and traditions of the Prophet (Sl.). In these ways the mosque became not only a place for worship but also a centre of education. The number of such lecturers increased and became the numbers of a future mosque-

---

[1] Al-Khudari : Tarikh-al-Umam-al-Islamiyya, Vol. 2, pp. 217-18; Al-Zayyat, p. 183.

[2] Al-Zayyat : Tarikh-al-'Adab-al-Arabi, p. 193; J. Zidan : Tarikh Adab-al-Lughat u-'Arabia, Vol. 1, p. 226.

[3] Ibn Nadim, Al-Fihrist, p. 242; Hitti : History of the Arabs, p. 166; Al-Jahiz : K. al-Bayan Wal-Tabyeen Vol. I, p. 26; J. Zidan : *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 227-28; Ameer Ali : History of Saracens, p. 205-6.

madrasahs."(1) Besides serving as Primary school, many mosques in the capital cities and provincial towns provided facilities for higher learning. The mosques were not only the place of theological studies but also centres of learning for different branches of knowledge, including science and philosophy. The mosques evidently served the purpose of general education from Primary to University level, but it appears that some private houses known as 'Majlis' were also constructed for special studies in some branches of knowledge during the first century of Hijrah. The term "Jami'a", for university, derived from all Masjid-al-Jami' (the Grand mosque), clearly indicates that the universities of Islamic learning were originally centred in the Jami' mosques.

From the first century of Hijrah there arose a group of learned Calligraphists known as "al Warraqun", who were busy in transcribing and preparing copies of books. Many of them were also experts in making writing papers and inks. These scribes and copyists played a significant role in disseminating knowledge *during the early centuries of Islam. Since the 2nd century of Hijrah factories* for manufacture of papers were established all over the Muslim world.

It is generally held that the study of foreign sciences specially of Greek dialectics and philosophy among the Muslims began during the Abbasid period due to patronage of Al-Mamun (194—218/809—833).

But it is now admitted that the work of translation of foreign books including Astronomy, Chemistry, Physics and Medicines actually began 100 year earlier and that serious study of these sciences began from the middle of First Century Hijrah.

"The Umayyad Khalifs had taken interest in some branches of science known to foreign nations. Mu'awiya, the first Khalif of the Umayyad dynasty was fond of hearring legendary stories, and his grand son Khalid was interested in logic and alchemy. Before the end of the Umayyad rule Muslims had began to study history, geography and astronomy, besides traditions, philosophy and theology".(2) It is known that a good number of books on Hadith, Tafsir and Fatawa (legal decisions) were compiled during the Umayyad rule especially from the reign of 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz (d. 101/720) a number of noted 'tabiyun' engaged themselves enthusiastically in the compilation of books on Hadith literature in the different reigons of the Islamic world.(3)

Further, the famous "Bait-al-Hikma" of Baghdad was not founded by al-Mamun as is generally held, but its foundation was laid by al-Mansur (136—158/754-775), the founder of the city of Baghdad in 762 A.D. This "House of wisdom" was further enriched by Harun-al-Rashid.

Al-Zayyat writes : " Compilation of books on different branches of knowledge, translation of such books and their publicity were undertaken during Abbaside

---

[1] A. M. A. Shushtery : Outlines of Islamic Culture, 1954, p. 121.

[2] Shushtry, *op. cit.* p. 121.

[3] M. Abdur Raziq. Tamhid, *op. cit.*, p. 195-203.

rule. Pioneer among them was the second Caliph Abu-ja'far al Mansur. He established numerous colleges of medicine and theology. He appointed for this purpose Gergions b. Bakhtishu', the head physician of Jund Shapur, a group of Syrian, Iranian and Indian scholars. They translated for him a number of books on astronomy and medicine. Among these books were : 'Sind-Hind' (Sidhanta) on astronomy ; 'Euclid' in geometry. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' 'translated for him some books on literature and logic. This intelectual activity diminished during the reign of Hadi and Mahdi but was revitalized by Harunur Rashid (170—194/786—809) with the assistance of the Barmikids. He took upon himself to attach to every Jami of prayer, a Jamia' of knowledge. (لكل جامع للصلاة جامعة للعلم) During his reign all available books on medicine', chemistry, astronomy, Mecaniques (حيل) algebra, botany and biology were translated into Arabic".[1]

The credit of al-Mamun lies in the fact that he converted the "Bait-al-Hikmah" from a translation Bureau to a regular academy for translation, higher studies and original researches in different branches of learning and employed a large number of scholars for this purpose. W. Muir admits that ; " it was through the labours of these learned men that the nations of Europe, then shrouded in the darkness of the Middle Ages became again acquainted with their "own" proper but forgotten patrimony of Greecian science and philosophy". According to Hitti ; "Besides serving as a translation Bureau, this Institute functioned as an academy and public library and had an observatory connected with it. "Bait-ul-Hikmat" may claim" says Totah,' the honour of having been the first university of both the medieval and modern world, for it bore the torch aloft long before Boloqua, Paris, Prague, Oxford and Cambridge. The College "Baitul Hikmat" boasted of a library with a librarian who was a noted mathematician and astronomer.[2]

"All these interests now received sympathetic patronage from Mamun", writes C. BrockelMann. "In his court-library, the House of Wisdom (Bayt-al-Hikmah), he attempted to unite the literary treasures of the Islamic as well as of foreign literatures; he had Greek works purchased in Asia minor. Under his reign, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-kindi, "the philosopher of the Arabs", one of the greatest minds in world history as he was called in 1552 by Cardano, began his literary activity, which was not only to transmit to his country-men a knowledge of Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic philosophy in translations and adaptations, but also to extend their intellectual horizon by studies in natural history and meteorology made in the spirit of that philosophy. Al-kindi showed himself a child of his time in his cultivations of astrology, and even the study of the future from shoulder bones, as entirely serious sciences. Though he maintained a negative attitude with respect to the fraudulent claims of alchemy, he did not consider it beneath his dignity to take an interest in the distillation of perfumes. He even cultivated military science, his essay on swords enumerates more than twenty-five varieties

---

(1) Tarikh, *op*. cit., p. 343, *vide* also Shushtery, p. 299-302.

(2) M. A. Hanif : A survey of Muslim Institutions and Culture, Ashraf, Lahore, 1962, p. 137.

according to the country of origin from Yemen to Ceylon and as far as France and Russia, describes the qualities of individual blades and gives instruction as to the reforging of damaged swords by gradual cooling".

Commenting on the academic activities of the Abbaside Caliphs, which were inaugurated by al Mansur and rigorously followed by his successors, Mr. Brockel Mann further says ; " Particular interest in, Baghdad, was taken in mathematics and astronomy. The works of Euclid and Ptolemy's Megale syntaxis, the Almagest of the Arabs, were translated for Mamun by al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf Ibn Matar, after he had already depicted a translation of Euclid's Elements to Harun. But Indian science was drawn on for supplementary material in this too. Ibrahim al-Farraji had already translated the Indian book of astronomy Sindhind, into Arabic for Mansur ; a resume of it was prepared for Mamun by Muhammad al-Khawarizmi, who also adopted Ptolemy's Geographike Hyphegesis and composed first independent textbook for algebra ; as a result his name survives even to day in the term algorithm for formulation of a calculating method, Mamun also had an understanding for the practical problems of astronomy ; he had Ptolemy's astronomical tables revised on the basic of simaltaneous observation in Baghdad and Damascus, and a meridian degree calculated." [1]

It may be noted here that remarkable contributions of the Muslims to the development of a sound system of education and their contributions to the Philosophy of education have been totally ignored by the western writers. Similarly the achievements of the Muslim in the different branches of science and art and their lasting contributions to human civilisation have not been fully recognised. The western writers of the history of science and philosophy have shown the Muslims only as the custodian and translators of the Greek Science and Philosophy, ignoring their original contributions to different branches of human knowledge and world civilisation. Professor Fuat Sezkin in his "History of Sciences" has shown : that (1) the Greeks stood in the second phase of the development of speculative sciences and not in the first phase ; because, there passed two thousand and five hundred years of rationalistic studies by other nations before the Greek appeared on the scene ; (2) that in the history of the development of different sciences there was an important period of innovations, invention and original studies in between the two periods of ancient Greek and the modern western Renaissance, and this intermediary period was fully occupied by the Arabs and the Muslims as the dominant and supreme intellectual force and as the original contributors to different branches of art, literature, science and philosophy. They were not mere custodians and transmitters of the ancient sciences ; (3) that the period of translation of foreign books into Arabic began in the first century and that this period of translation was of short duration, after which began the period of independent and original studies and research among the Muslims in the middle of the third century of Islam [2]

It is of no use to complain against the western writers and historians. Attempt should be made by the Muslim Scholars to write a real history of the World

---

1. History of the Islamic Peoples, London, 1952, p. 125-126.
2. Muhadarat Fi Tarikh-al-Uloom, Riyadh, 1979, p. 11-27.

civilization depicting the correct picture of the origin and development of different branches of human knowledge through ages, showing the Muslim contributions to various branches of art, science and philosophy including education.

4. Development of the Institutions of Islamic Education :

It is not exactly known when special house built exclusively for imparting higher education called "Madrasahs", later "Jamicas" came into being. It appears that individual scholars and religious savants began to build such special educational institutions in the middle of the second century Hijrah. Shushtery observes that during the reign of Harun-al-Rashid (170—193 A.H.) and his son, a large number of richly endowed schools were opened, a University was founded, libraries were organised and an observatory was set up. (op. cit, p. 123). According to Imam Zahabi (d. 1348), and Suyuti (d. 1505) [1], it was during the Ghaznavid rule (300—399 A.H.), that a net-work of Madrasahs for different studies were established in different parts of their kingdom, especially in Khurasan. Famous madrasahs of Nishapur built during this period are : (1) the Madrasah Baiihaqiyah and (2) the Madrasah Sa'Yidiyah, both founded by Amir Nasr b. Sabuktagin, (3) the Astrabadiyya Madrasah of Isma'yil b. Ali Astrabadi, known as shaikh-al-Khatib, and (4) the Isfrainiyya Madrasah of ustad Abu Ishaq.

The University of Cordova established by caliph Hakam II of Spain (961—976), occupied a place of pre-eminence among all the Universities of the World, where students of different religions from various countries of Asia, Africa and Europe assembled for specialization in different disciplines of art, science and philosophy. Hakam II, a great patron of learning and an enthusiastic admirer of scholarship, collected a library of four hundred thousand volumes and promoted the spread of knowledge by founding twenty-seven schools in Cordova, where the children of the poor received gratuitous education, even the books being supplied from the state. During his reign all branches of learning and science flourished in Spain. (2) The famous Jami'al-Azhar was built in 362/972 and it was used as a Madrasah for the teaching of Shi'a theology in the year 996 A.D. Following the example of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamun, the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt al-Hakim founded in 395/1005 a "Darul 'Ilm" also called "Darul Hikmah" in Cairo, which was richly supplied with books of different subjects and various mathematical instruments, and in which different branches of human knowledge including physics and mathematics were taught by eminent professors of respective subjects dressed in their '*Khala'a*'' or doctoral mantles " The gowns of the English Universities still retain the original form of the Arabic *Khala'a*" [3].

It is during the Seljuq's rule (1037—1196 A. D.), that a regular system of education with prescribed courses of study for different disciplines was evolved. The

1. Zahabi: Tarikhal-Islam and Suyuti : Husnal-Muhaderah, see also Shushtery, p. 125.
2. Ameer Ali: History of Saracens, p. 514-15; Brockel Mann ; History of the Islamic Peoples, p. 191.
3. Ameer Ali, of cit., p. 614-15.

famous Nizamiyah University of Baghdad was established in 495/1065 by Nizam al-Mulk (1018—1092), the grand wazir of Malikshah Seljuqi. He also opened similar type of Madrasahs and Universities at Nishapur, Balakh, Musil, Herat, Merv, and at many other places. All these colleges and institutions of higher learning were endowed with munificent grants from the Government. Eminent professors with high salaries were appointed for teaching different subjects. Stipends were sanctioned for the Students who used to live in the hostels attached to the Colleges. The foundation of the Nizamiyah was really a turning point in the history of Muslim education and the Nizamiyah system became the model for the later Colleges and Universities of Islamic learnings. The great tourist Ibn Jubair saw in 580/1184 at Baghdad thirty Madrasahs, all of which were maintained out of incomes of Awqa'f. The Jami'-al-Mustansariah of Baghdad founded in 631/1234 by caliph Mustansirbillah (1226—1242), was amalgamated with Nizamiyah. It provided teaching for four schools of law, besides other subjects. According to Ibn-al-Athir the *Jamia-al -Mustansariah* was unique in those days in the whole world and its great library contained 80 thousand books on different subjects. These Muslim Universities of the middle ages, it has now been admited, served as models for the early Universities of Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

During the Ottoman rule, numerous magnificent mosques with attached colleges and libraries were built in the various regions of the empire. Some of the grand mosques had more than one attached madrasahs. According to a narration, the mosque of Sultan Bayazid had four attached madrasahs one of which was devoted to the study of Medicine. The mosque of Sultan Muhammad had as many as eight madrasahs attached to it. Besides these mosques—madrasahs, innumerable separate madrasahs were also founded by the Caliphs, Wazirs, Amirs and their wives and daughters all over the vast Ottoman Empire. A new and separate type of primary schools besides mosques, also came into existence during the early periods, which were known as "Kuttab" and "Maktabs", and which were the main instruments for spreading mass literacy, and keeping the society immure from the curse of illiteracy. Girls, generally received their primary education in these "Kuttab" as well as in the mosque madrasahs. A girls madrasah was established in Cairo in 634/1237 by the daughter of Mamluk Sultan Tahir. The daughter of Malik Ashraf known as *Khánam*, founded a madrasah for women in Damascus. Another girl madrasah was erected in Aleppo by Zamurrad, wife of Nasiruddin. Shushtery says: "Girls and boys of tender age were educated together in the small schools. The girls were expected to read the Qur'an and acquire religious knowledge. Those, however, who continued and became masters of Theology and other subjects, took to teaching as a profession and we find some women Theologians as great public teachers" [1].

1. Outlines of Islamic culture, p. 125. for a list of celebrated women theologians, Traditionists, Orators, speakers and physician etc., see the Appendix A of the above-named book, pp. 585-595.

5. Islamic Education in the Indian Sub-continent :

Though impact of Islam in the Indian sub-continent began as early as in 60/681, but Islamic education was introduced first in Sindh, after its conquest by Muhammad b. Qasim in 711 A.D. Mansura, Daibal and Qusdar (Khuzdar) were the centres of learning in Sindh during the Arab rule. It is stated that Nasiruddin Qabacha founded the first Madrasah of the sub-continent at Multan. Sultan Mahmood of Ghazna (998—1030 A.D.) is said to have established several Madrasahs at Ajmeer. Shaikh Isma'il Lahori (d. 448/1057 is credited with introducing the teaching of Tafsir and Hadith in this part of the world. Under the Sultans of Delhi (1157—1526), Islamic education received a new impetus and several Madrasahs were founded at Delhi, Lahore, Multan and many other towns for imparting teaching in different Islamic subjects. During the Mughal rule (1526—1857), a net work of educational institutions and Islamic seminaries were established throughout the whole country.[1]

Muslim rule in Bengal was first established by Muhammad Ikhtiyar uddin b. Bakhtiyar Khalji in about 600/1203, who established the first Madrasah in Bengal at the capital city of Lucknowti (old-Nadia). During the Muslim rule in Bengal from 1203 to 1757, mosques spread all over the country, served generally as the centres of primary and higher Islamic education. A unique system of Muslim primary education was also evolved in Bengal during the Muslim rule and under this system Maktabs were established in villages and towns, where Muslim and non-Muslim students used to receive their elementary education. Besides these mosque-madrasahs and maktabs, a large number of special madrasahs for higher Islamic education were also established in various towns and places. Sultan Ghiyath uddin I (1212—1227) established a Madrasah at Lucknowti ; Ghiyath uddin II at Darsbari ; Hussain Shah at Ikdala in Dinajpur ; Shaista Khan and other Mughal governors at Dacca, Sonargaon and elsewhere and Nawab Ali Wardi Khan at Murshidabad. Reputed scholars used to teach in these madrasahs and even eminent professors from other Muslim countries were invited for teaching Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh and philosophy in these institutions. There were also a special type of Madrasahs which were attached to the "Khanqas" of the sufi saints, where emphasis was given to the teaching of Islamic Mysticism and development of character and personality. Shia community also maintained some institutions which were attached to the Imambarah.

According to an estimate, there were 80,000 Madrasahs in Bengal, on an average, one Madrasah for hundred persons, before the British took over the country. According to the estimate of W. Adam there was even as late as the 1830s in Bengal on an average a village school for sixtythree children of the school-going age. Adam estimated that the number of the primary schools in the then Bengal was

---

1. For details *vide* — M. N. Law, Promotion of Learning in India during the Muhammadan rule; Shibli No' mani, Maqalat; Abul Hasrat Nadawi, Hindustan Ki-Qadim Darsgahin,

100,000. These educational institutions were supported through numerous educational endowments, la-khiraj awqaf lands and lavish stipends granted by the Muslim rulers, governors and wealthy persons.

Commenting on the liberal and magnificent patronage of learning by the Indian Muslim rulers, the Indian Education Commission of 1882 observed: "The first Muhammadan conquerors were noted for their patronage of learning at home and the great sovereigns of their race, while they lavished honours on indigenous talents, spared neither pains nor expenses to attract to their courts from other neighbouring countries men of high literary attainments. There was not a mosque or imambarah (Khanqahs may be added here in which professors of Arabic and persian were not maintained". When the British seized the political power of Bengal virtually in 1757, they found that one fourth of the whole province of Bengal had been rent free la-khiraj and awqaf land dedicated for education and various other socio-religious meritorious purposes.[1]

After consolidating their military power and establishing their political rule in Bengal, the British rulers, one after another, changed the administrative, judicial, revenue, commercial and educational systems of the country, which proved "disastrous to the Muslim and struck a death blow to their political, social and economic supremacy in Bengal." [2] These flourishing institutions of Islamic education-maktabs, madrasahs and Khanqahs gradually decayed under British rule and as a result, the Muslims of Bengal lost their intellectual supremacy also. In this period of decadence, a system of Madrasah education was introduced under strict British control, which inspite of its manifold defects, rendered commendable services in preserving the glorious tradition of Islamic learning, ideology and the rich heritages of Islamic culture. In the following paragraph we shall discuss in details the curriculum and the syllabus that was followed in the traditional system of Islamic education in the different period of Muslim history.

6. Curriculum of the Traditional Education System :

As indicated before, the main subjects of study during the prophets' time were : recitation of the holy Qur'an and Islamic rituals. The madrasah of "Al-Suffah" may be regarded as an institution of special type where provision was made for teaching geneology, some foreign languages and training in horse-riding and archery, besides reading of the Qur'an. [3] During the Umayyad period, prominent Saharbis and Tabi'yun opened vaiious centres of Islmic learning in the mosques of different countries. [4] Mosques were generally the seminaries of learning

1. For details *vide* : W. Adam: state of Education in Bengal; M. N. Law: Promotion of learning in India during the Muhammadan rule; W.W. Hunter: The Indian Musalmans; Shbli No'mani. Maqalat; Abul Hasarat Nadawi: Hindustan-Ki-Qadim Darsgahin; Abdus Sattar, Tarikh Madrasa-i-Alia, Decca.
2. Report of the Iddian Educatiod commission, 1882.
3. Suyuti : Jame-ul-Jawami ; A. Sattar : Tarikh Madrasa-i-Alia, Dacca, 1959, p. 12—15.
4. Al Khudaril: Tarikh-al-Tashri : Chapter III, M. A. Raziq : Tamhid, opp. cit., pp. 190-200

and centres of intellectual activities. In these mosques regular classes were organised for teaching different subjects such as ; Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh. Arabic literature and Theology. The system of teaching was based upon free lectures. Hundred of students used to attend lecture-classes of distinguished theologians and scholars. The number of students varied from a few to thousands. Ink and paper were kept ready to take notes from the lectures delivered by professors. In a lecture hall at Nishapur, there were 500 ink-stands kept ready for the use of students. Sometimes, a famous lecturer, say a celebrated Sufi, had hundreds of students following him, wherever he went, and questioning him on various subjects, to which he had to give ready answers. The poet and traveller Nasir Khusroe writes in the 5th century that the mosque at Cairo was daily visited by about five thousand men, to hear lectures on various subjects, but the main subjects of study were the Qur'an, tradition and theology.[1]. "Education for all" was the fundamental principle of Islam. The benefit of teaching was, therefore, extended equally to all classes of people without any restrction.

As a matter of fact, the foundation of all branches of Islamic learnings : theology, jurisprudence, history. Geography, Arabic literature, Al-chemy and mathematics, was laid in this period. Basra and Kufa played a remarkable role in the early growth of these branches of learning. Different Schools of theological, legal, mystical and philosophical thoughts also originated in this period. The Murjia, the Jahmiyah, the Jabariah and the Qadariah groups appeared during the Umayyad rule.(2) No regular and organised system of education was evolved at this stage and there was no general provision for teaching speculative sciences. Students desiring to acquire knowledge in any of the rationistic sciences had to go in search of a teacher who would agree to impart instruction in these subjects.

(a) *Courses of studies* :

The Abbasid period has rightly been termed as the golden period of Islamic education. Besides mosques, a large number of special educational institutions were founded during this period, where suitable provisions were made for teaching Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Logic, Kalam and Philosophy, etc. Courses of studies were divided into three grades or stages : Elementary, Senior and Advanced or specialization course. Though mosques provided unprecedented facilities for elementary education, thousands of Primary schools known as "Kuttab" or "Maktab" were also founded all over the Muslim world.

The curriculum of the primary schools mainly consisted of the reading of the Holy Qur'an, hifzul Qur'an, elementary knowledge of Islamic fundamentals, Arithmetic and Arabic. From the very beginning importance was placed on the art of writing, on account of which primary schools were called "Kuttab" or a Maktab (a place of writing). The three 'R's of elementary Islamic Education taught in the 'Kuttab' were : Religion-including reading and recitation of the Holy Qur'an, writing and Arithmetic.

(1) Shushtery : op. cit., p. 126 & 121-122.

(2) Ameer Ali : op. cit., p. 205—207 ; J. Zidan : Tarikh opp. cit., pp. 200—230.

The next stage which may be called the senior stage, began with the study of Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh, which formed the pivot of the senior course. To these were added ancillary subjects such as : Arabic peotry, Grammar, Rhetoric, Prosody Logic, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Biography of the prophet (sira) and the History of the early Muslim conquests (Maghazi). In the Academies of higher learning and Universities, provisions were made for advance studies in Medicine, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Geography and Engineering.

(b) *Classification of Subjects* : [1]

Muslim educationists divided the classical courses of Islamic studies into two categories, *viz.* the sciences which were directly connected with the study of the Qur'an and those which were of foreign origin. The first category is known as "Al-'Uloom al-shar'yiyyah" which inclues also linguistic sciences as the basic subjects for understanding the Qur'an and the Hadith. This category is generally known as "Al-'Uloom-Al-ul-Naqliyya"- or traditional sciences. The second category of the subjects are termed as "Al-'Uloom-ul-'Aqliyya" or speculative sciences, which are also known as "Al-'Uloom-al-Qadima" or ancient-sciences. It is to be noted that the sciences which are now called "modern", in the Muslim terminology they were classified under "ancient" sciences.

Subjects of studies which are included under each category are shown below:—

(A) Al-'Uloom-Al-shariyyah-Religious Sciences.

1. 'Ilm al-Qira'at ,Qur'anic Recitation, learning the Holy Script by heart (hifzul Qur an), is included under this discipline.
2. 'Ilm-al-Tafsir (Qur anic Exegesis), including subjects under 'Uloom-al-Qur'an (Qur'anic Sciences).
3. 'Ilm-al-Hadith (Apostolic tradition, including relevant subjects under 'Uloom-al-Hadith- (Sciences related to the study of Hadith.)

---

[1] Classification of human Knowledge and Sciences has been made by different Muslim Scholars from different points of view. For detailed studies *vide*: Al-Kindi, of the 9th Century : Kitab-fi-Mahiyat-al'-Ilm Wa Aqsamihi, and Kitab Aqsam-al-'Ilm al-unsi; Al-Tarabi (d. 335/950); Ihsa-al-'ulum; Abu Abdullah-al-Khawarizmi (d. 976); Miftah al-'ulum; Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) : Al-Muqaddima; Tash Kubra Zada (d. 962/1555) Miftah-al-Sa'adah; Al-Tahanawi (d. 1745) : *Kash-shaf Istilahat-ul-Funun*; *Sayyed Hossein Nasr : Science and Civilization in Islam.*

Task Kubra Zada, in his Miftah-al-Sa'adah, has enumerated three hundred branches of knowledge and classified them into six categories : (1) Al-'ulum-al-Khat'tiya, Calligraphic Sciences, or Sciences of script are divided into nine branches, (2) Al-'ulum-al-Lisaniyya, Linguistic Sciences *have 44 branches, (3) Religio-Theoretical Sciences comprise 5 branches, (4) Practical* and Physical Sciences including natural Mathematical, Medical, Zoological, etc., consist of 122 branches, (5) Rationalistic Sciences consist of 8 branches and (6) Religious Sciences including Qira'at, Tafsir, Hadith usul-al-Din, are divided into more than one hundred branches. (j. Zidon Tarikh, Vol. II, *op. cit*, p. 234).

4. 'Ilm-al-Fiqh- (Islamic Jurisprudence), which also includes principle of Islamic law (usul-al-fiqh), etc.

5. 'Ilm-al-Tawhid—also called 'Ilm Al-Aqaid, Ilm-al-Kalam and Usul-al-Din (Scholastic Theology).

6. Al-Adab-al-Arabi (Arabic literature)—prose and poetry.

7. 'Ilm-al-Qawa'id (Arabic Grammar)—(Nahwa and Sarf.).

8. 'Ilm-al-Bayan-Badi' wa Ma'ani- (Rhetoric), 'Ilm-al'-Urud (Prosody).

9. 'Ilm-al-Lugha-Qamus, (Lexico-graphy)

Other disciplines which were included under this category are:

(a) 'Sira'- Biography of the prophet (2) History of Islam, including the history of the prophets (3) 'Ilm-al-Akhlaq-Islamic Ethics (4) Tasuwaf-Islamic Mysticim, and (5) 'Ilm-al-Mirath-Law of Inheritance.

(B) *All-Uloom-al-'Aqliyya—Foreign or Anceint Sciences or Speculative Sciences* :

1. Mantiq—Logic,

3. Hikmat—Philosophy

3. Hisab, Jabr, Riyadi, Handasa—Mathematics, Exact Sciences, including Architecture and Engineering.

4. 'Ilm-al-Hayat—Astronomy,

5. Tibb—Medicine, and

6. Al-Kimiya—Chemistry.

(C) Curriculum and Course of studies of the Madrasahs in the sub-contienent.

The System of traditional Islamic education prevailing in the Indian sub-continent during the Muslim rule, was more or less the same as was in vogue in other Muslim Countries under the Turkish Empire. But there was an important variation in the curriculum of the old Indian Madrasahs. As the Persian was the official and court language of the country, Persian language and literature was included in the curriculum as important compulsory subject and the medium of instruction was also Persian. This resulted in less emphasis on Arabic, which in fact was relegated to a secondary position. During the period of Delhi sultans the courses of study consisted of the following subjects :—

1. Tafsir 2. Hadith 3. Fiqh 4. Usul-al-Fiqh 5. Logic 6. Kalam (scholasticism) 7. Hikmat (philosophy) 8. Arabic Grammar 9. Rhetoric 10. Arabic literature 11. Persian literature 12. Tibb (Medicine) which also included Chemistry, Biology, and Botany, etc.; 13. Mathematics and 14 Mysticism.

During the Mughal period more emphasis was placed on the study of Ma'qulat (speculative sciences), than on traditional Islamic sciences. During the reign of Akbar some new subjects such as Agriculture, Economics, Civics and History were added to the curriculum. The curriculum now in vogue in the Madrasahs of the sub-continent, including Bangladesh, is known as "Darsi Nizami", which was framed by Mullah Nizamuddin Sahalawi (1089—1161/1678—1748). The main characteristics of this curriculum is that some standard books for each of the classical subjects were prescribed as text-books so that a student may complete the whole course within ten to twelve years. [1] The most glaring defect of this curriculum was that undue emphasis was given to the study of speculative sciences ignoring the importance of traditional subjects, which formed the core of Islamic education during the golden periods of Islam. One of the reasons of its popularity, it appears, was the wrong impression that this Dari-Nizami was exactly the same courses of studies which were prescribed for the Nizamiya of Baghdad.

But, though the study of the Qur'an and the Hadith was given a secondary place in the general schemes of the madrasah, there were some special madrasahs and specially those attached to the "Khanqahs", where due importance was given to the study of the Qur'an, the Hadith and Arabic literature. The Sonargaon Madrasah in Bangladesh, in those days was one of the great centres of higher Islamic learnings specially of Holy Qur'an and Hadith, where once Shaikh Sharaf-al-Din Abu Tawama (d. 1300 A.D.), the celebrated saint of the sub-continent, used to teach these two subjects. It was due to the efforts of the Mujaddid-i-Alfthani (1564—1624 A.D.), Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Dehlawi (1551—1642 A.D.) and Shah Waliullah (1703—1762 A.D.), that studies in the Holy Qur'an and Hadith were revived in the sub-continent and were given due place in the Madrasah system of education.

General Sleman commenting on the prevalent Muslim system of education in the sub-continent during the Muslim rule observed, that there were few nations in the world which held education so dear as the Muslims of India. Even a person earning a small pittance of Rs. 20 per mensem, would provide education for his children befitting the progeny of a prime minister. All knowledge acquired by the Youth of England through Greek and Latin was received by the youngman of this sub-continent through Persian and Arabic, and after a seven years course of study, the Muslim youth became as proficient in Grammar, Dialectics and Logic as an Oxford graduate of those days and he could discuss the teachings of Socrates, Plato, Aristotla, Galen and Avicenna with great ease and self-possession. In fact, this ancient form of learing developed a delightful poise and balance in the personality of the pupil and the qualities developed through this

---

[1] *Vide* :—N. N. Law : Promotion of learning in India; S. M. Jafer : Education in Muslim India; M. Basu : *History of Education in India*; Nadavi : *Hindustan-Ki-Qadim Darsgah*; A. Sattar : Tarikh-i-Madrasa-i-'Alia.

training in humanities and classical languages were in no way inferior to those derived from a training in Greek and Latin"[1].

William Adam, who made a detailed survey of the indigenous education system of Bengal between 1835—1838 says: "In the Arabic schools, the course of study takes a much wider range. The Grammatical works were numerous, systematised and profound; complete course of reading on rhetoric, logic and law are embraced; the external observance and fundamental doctrines of Islam are minutely studied, the works of Euclid on Geometry and Ptolemy on Astronomy in translation are not unknown; other branches of natural philosophy are also taught; and the whole course is crowned by the perusal of treatises on metaphysics, deemed the highest attainment of instructed scholars. Perhaps we shall not err widely if we suppose that the state of learning among the Musalmans of India resembles that which existed among the nations of Europe before the invention of printing"[2].

Dr. Hunter in his "The Indian Musalmans" admitted that: "Before the country passed to us, they (the Muslims) were not only the political but the intellectual power in India. They possessed a system of education which, to use the words of the Indian statesman (Mr. E. C. Bayley C.S.I.), who knows them best, however inferior to that which we have established, was yet by no means to be despised; was capable of affording a high degree of intellectual training and polish; was found on principles not wholly unsound though presented in an antiquated form; and which was infinitely superior to any of the system of education then existing in India; a system which secured to them an intellectual as well as a material supremacy[3].

7. Imposition of the Western system of education created Socio-Cultural Conflicts:

The fall of Muslim rule in Bengal in 1757 and subsequently gradual capture of power by the British of the sub-continent, brought about a ruin of this system of education which secured to the Muslim an intellectual as well as material supremacy. After consolidating their political power, the British rulers changed the administrative, revenue, fiscal and judicial system of the Muslim and finally changed the educational system of the Muslim and abolished Persian as the court language, substituting it by English. All these changes caused destruction to the Muslim way of life and struck a death-blow to their political as well as social, economic, cultural and intellectual supremacy in the sub-continent. The English system of education was first imported into India by the Christian missionaries in the early part of the eithteenth century and it was formally introduced in 1835, ostensively for the promotion of western arts and science. Lard Macaulay, the

[1] Education and Society, 1960, reprint, Dacca University Press 1961, p. 12.

[2] W. Adam: Reports on the State of Education in Bengal, p. 295,

[3] Hunter op. cit., pp. 159-60.

great champion of English education, explaining the object of English system of education proudly declared, that the Government must do their best to produce a class of person, through this system of education, who will be "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in moral and in intellect "(1).

The Muslim of the sub-continent, proud of their religion, culture, education and glorious heritages, naturally opposed this system of education which adversely affected their religion, culture, ideology and way of life. "The truth is, our system of education," observed Hunter, "is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Musalmans"(2).

With the abolition of the Muslim judicial and revenue systems, followed by the introduction of the English system of education in 1835 and abolition of Persian as the official language in 1837, the madrasah system lost its secular importance and was relegated to a side-track. The Muslims of the sub-continent however held aloof from a system of education which was based on materialistic concept of life and was basically antagonistic to their way of life, their ideology and their culture which was based on religious, moral and spiritual philosophy of the Qur'an. A large section of the Muslim therefore, remained loyal to their own national system of education, represented by the Madrasah system, neglecting the western pattern which provided passports to public services and other profitable spheres of life. Commenting on the aversion of the Muslims to the English education lord Mayo in 1871 observed : "It is much to be regretted that so large and important a class, possessing a classical literature replete with works of profound learning and great value, and counting among its members a section specially devoted to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge, should stand aloof from active co-operation with our educational system and should lose the advantages, both material and social which others enjoy".(3)

Even after the ruthless suppression of the successive 'Jihad' campaigns and the great revolt of 1857, the Muslims of the sub-continent remained proud of their religion, culture and distinct way of life and did not give up their hopes for regaining their lost political power and revival of their culture. This attitude of the Muslims, no doubt, displaced the foreign rulers. Even the Indian Education Commission of 1882, known as the Hunter Commission, could not conceal their resentment against the Muslims and in their report resentingly observed that among the causes which contributed to the backwardness of the Muslim in English Education "the most powerful factors are to be found in pride of race, a memory of bygone superiority, religious fears, and not un-natural attachment to the learning of Islam."(4)

(1)H. Sharp Selection from Educational Records, Part I, p. 116; The Combidge Short History of India, p. 717.

(2)Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 159-60.

(3)Report of the Muslim Education Advisory Committee, 1931, Government of Bengal, published in 1935, p. 7.

(4)The report of the Muslim Education Advisory Committee, 1931, p 11.

It is evidently clear from the opinions of Macaulay, Hunter and many other authorities that the object of the English education was not only the promotion of western art and science but also to make the Muslims forget their glorious heritages, break their connection with their intellectual and cultural past and to compel them to adopt new ideas, ideals, Ethos and institutions even if they were antagonistic to their own ethical principles and religious and national institutions.

Thus the socio-cultural crisis and the conflict of ideas and ideals in the Muslim society took a serious turn from the date of imposition of the foreign rule and introduction of the western system of secular education.

At this critical juncture, the Muslim opinion was sharply divided on the problem of education and this resulted in the division of the Muslims into two opposing groups. One group of practical minded Muslims recognised the necessity of adopting the western education and learning modern language and literature for the sake of survival and amelioration of their lot. They thought that Muslim interest can be safeguarded by establishing their own schools, colleges and universities with the provision of religious instruction in the general curriculum. The other group was apprehensive of the adverse effect of the western education in undermining the Islamic values and ideology and therefore remained satisfied with the old Madrasah education, discarding cultivation of modern science and technology. The Aligarh University and the Deobond Madrasah are the best representatives of these two opposing groups.

The Muslim leaders of Bengal in the beginning of this century tried to bridge the gulf between the traditional and the western systems of education by evolving a new system of education which is known as the "Reformed Madrasah system". Similar attempt was made in India, and the result was the Nadwatul 'ulama of Lucknow and the Jamia Millia of Delhi. In Egypt, a group of learned scholars and educationists, being dissatisfied with the teaching of Al-Azhar, established a new Islamic Seminary known as "Darul 'uloom" in 1871, which was later incorporated in 1946 with the Cairo University established in 1908, as one of its important faculty. As in the sub-continent, the Al-Azhar also lost its secular importance after the establishment of the Cairo University, though it retained its honour and prestige as a great centre of Islamic learning and Arabic Studies.

Thus, by the beginning of the present century, the western system of education has been introduced in all the Muslim countries from Morocco to Indonesia, retaining at the same time in most of them, the traditional Islamic system of education. In modern Turkey, the traditional system was once abolished but the result was shocking and therefore it has been revived again. "The history of Islam shows that it always stood for a combination of secular and religious education. That was the secret of its contribution to the general intellectual development of the world and to its moral and material prosperity. It practically prepared the ground for the great Renaissance of learning which ushered in the

era of modern progress. In Islam, a scheme of education divorced from religion has no place. Such education is branded as "soul-less", because it does not help its recipients to soar high and elevate humanity."(1)

With the introduction of the Western pattern of education, two separated systems of education came into existence one is called the religious system and the other secular system. Attempt was made at first to abolish the religious system, then for co-ordination between the two systems, as stated above, but it brought no satisfactory result. There were already two groups, the co-ordination brought into existence a third group, with altogether different outlook. So the problem of Muslim education, with passing of time, became more and more complicated. Reviewing this critical situation Mr. N. A. Balooch observed that the Islamic civilisation is built "on the foundation of faith with remarkable adaptability to the changing conditions. From the very beginning, the Muslim communities had the distinct quality of adjustment to the new social conditions, which brought about a change in their way of social life—home, food, dress etc. But economics and politics have never been the dominant factors in patterning the way of life of Muslim communities. Under the ottomans in the arid parts of Egypt or under the Mughals in the fertile valleys of India, the core of Muslim civilisation remained unchanged, because the basic foundation of faith remained the same."

"But since the decline of the Muslim power, the world has seen the rise of new political and economic faith, such as Nationalism, Democracy and Communism, which for larger or shorter periods, either directly or indirectly, have governed the destinies of the Muslim peoples due to their subjugation by the foreign powers believing in these faiths. The dominance of these new faiths has already created many tensions in the Muslim Societies for which they were not prepared."

In the foregoing pages we have seen that beginning with the recitation of the holy Qur'an, Islamic education in course of times incorporated in the curriculum a number of disciplines of foreign origin. But under all circumstances the core of Muslim culture and the basic foundation of Islamic faith remained unchanged, because politics and economics have never been the dominant factors in patterning the way of life of the Muslim. So the rise and fall of different dynasties in the Muslim countries could not change the basic characteristics of Islamic education.

The most baneful effect of the western education was that it undermined the fundamental principle of Muslim society and lead it drift from its ideological moorings. The new system of education not only influenced the socio-cultural pattern but the culture of the ruling west was identified as the "super culture'

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 84.

and which was to be adopted by the Muslim society. The intention of the western powers had always been to keep the people of the east under their political and economic control by using physical forces and they planned very wisely to keep the East under their cultural and intellectual domination through their own pattern of education. So effective was this plan that even after achievement of independence, the eastern nation and specially the Muslim remained under subjugation of the western "Super Culture".

The Western system of education, no doubt contributed largely to the rapid progress and development of the Muslim countries, but at the same time it remarkably succeeded in creating a class of people who though belonged to Muslim Milla but due to their intellectual thinking, psychological attitudes, way of life and manners of living, they considered themselves, generally, to be a member of the western modern society. Commenting on the impact of western education on the thoughts and ideas of Muslim intelligentsia. Mr. M. Fazlur Rahman writes :—

"It was indeed the instrument of a new culture that turned our eyes from our national life and tradition and taught us to look at everything, even at our own cultural heritage, through western eyes. It is no wonder that the English educated elites find themselves in a particularly difficult position when called upon to regenerate and direct our culture".(1) If western education has created a new generation of intellectual elites, who draws inspiration from western life and thought, the traditional system of education has produced a group of religious savants who are inspired by the teaching of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, interpreted of course, differently by different religious leaders. But it is surprising that they continued to oppose cultivation of all modern science and thereby going against the teaching of Islam. So there exist wide social and intellectual divergences and conflicts not only between the products of the two different systems of education, but also among the differentgroups of intellectuals and religious thinkers among themselves. This division, no doubt, has created misunderstanding, prejudice and even hostility. Now the question is; how this conflict between two conceptions of life and modes of living can satisfactorily be solved not only in the interest of Muslim nations and regeneration of Muslim culture, but also for the salvation of mankind and for the peace and prosperity of the world. Will the modernization of the traditional system of education— solve the problem and reconcile the conflict ? Past experiences prove, it will not resolve the differences. In many of the Madrasahs of Bangladesh modern subjects, including science, have been introduced. Al-Azhar has recently opened faculties of science and technology. But what will be the result of this modernization ? We may quote here the considered opinion of a modern educationist on this modernization of Madrasah education :—

"Although great steps have been taken, on the one hand by Quranic schools and Islamic Universities towards modernization and on the

(1) Education and Culture, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

other hand by modern schools and Universities of Western studies in their teaching, there is still a wide gap between the two characteric types of educational institutions in the Arab and Muslim world. The general opinion, which is now apparent everywhere from Morocco to Indonesia, is that this gap should be bridged as soon as possible."(1)

8. The ways and means of solving the crisis :

There can be no doubt that this gap can be bridged by evolving a uniform system of national education for the whole Muslim world, which must be based on the solid foundations of Islamic faith and broad liberal conception of life as enunciated in the holy Quran. But it is not an easy task. It is a very complicated matter and requires years of researches, investigations, surveys and studies, which cannot be undertaken by any single muslim country or a limited number of educationists and scholars. It requires the devoted services and co-operatives and sustained efforts of a large number of Muslim thinkers, scholars and educationists and financing by the resourceful Muslim countries. The "First World Conference on Muslim Education" which was held at Mecca in March, 1977 under the auspices of king Abdul Aziz University and patronage of the Saudi Government, was indeed a momentous event in the history of Muslim education for the last two hundred years. 313 Scholars from 40 different countries of the world participated in this great educational conference and after along and detailed discussions on all aspects of Muslim education they formulated the guide-lines for framing the comprehensive scheme of the proposed national system of Muslim education. The recommendations of the conference deserve wide publicity and active consideration of all concerned. I quote below only a portion of the recommendations of the conference on the Education policy and on the ways and means of securing co-operation among the educationists for framing a National Scheme of Muslim education.

Education Policy and Practice

"Having reviewed educational systems prevailing in the world namely, the European, American, and Marxist system, in addition to mixures of such systems and considered the traditional systems in some Muslim countries, the committee believes that it is high time to formulate an alternative Muslim educational system to be adopted in Muslim countries which will be designed to serve as a defence against ideological and behavioural deviation resulting from intellectual and ethical onslaughts."

"The committee maintains that educational policy in the Islamic countries should emphasize the creation of good men believing in God, who are earnest in their pursuit of this life and the life hereafter in accordance with the Qur'anic injunctions.

(1) Education and Society, P. 38.

1. A Muslim educational system must articulate Islam's perception of the individual, society and the physical cosmos in its relation to the creator, Allah, the Almighty".

The recommendations also embodied the fundamentals of the scheme.

The recommendation of the conference on the ways and means of securing co-operation among Educationists for preparing the scheme of the Muslim educational system is noted below :

"The committee takes into consideration the fact that the *status-quo* in the Muslim world as far as education is concerned is one that call for over all revision according to the precepts of Islam. Therefore, through revaluation of not merely the current system or systems of Education, but of the ruling Ethos behind all education in the Muslim world is imperative.

But it must be understood that any such overall evaluation can not be undertaken without preliminary epistomological study in the light of The Quran and the Sunnah.

The general area, it must be remembered, which is part of the scope of such analysis and study contains diverse fields of knowledge, *e.g.*, arts and sciences equally as well as all the primitive propositions therein implied. Such fundamental revaluation necessitates the closest possible co-operation between Muslim men of learning who are aware of the dangers and pitfalls which beset the UMMA.

The committee is persuaded of the value of such co-operation provided that it is institutionalized.

The committee also thinks that the absence of an International Islamic frame work on the above lines was and still is a serious impediment to mutual understanding and Co-operation between the Ulama *i.e.* Muslim savants and scholars".

In order to achieve these objectives the conference recommended for the establishment of (1) an International Muslim Educational centre in holy Mecca, (2) a translation bureau to be attached to the proposed Islamic Centre (3) constitution of a body to examine the reading matter used in schools, colleges, madrasahs and universities of the Muslim world and to devise model books which should replace the old as soon as feasible (4) to establish a central research library in Mecca and (5) to adopt a comprehensive programme and make suitable arrangement for training of the teachers.(1)

It is hoped that the Saudi Arabia and other Muslim countries would fully realise the significance and importance of these recommendations of the first world conference on Muslim Education and adopt concrete and energetic measures for the early implementation of these recommendations.

(1) *Vide* : The proceedings of the First World Conference on Muslim Education, 1977.

9. **Contributions of the Muslim to different branches of knowledge :**

In the fore-going pages we have seen how the educational system and educational institutions originated and developed among the Muslims of the different countries for the advancement of knowledge. We have also seen that the Holy Qur'an was the main-spring and fountain-head for the origin and development of all branches of knowledge among the Ummi Arab people. Al-Qur'an, the words of Allah—'Kalam ullah' (1), a revealed book full of wisdom—al-Qur'an-ul-hakim(2), a revealed book comprising of most beautiful Message 'ahsanul hadith'(3), has rightly claimed to be the mother of all revealed books, 'Ummul kitab'.(4). The most outstanding and lasting contribution of the Muslim to the domain of knowledge is, that they preserved this Unique and un-parallel book in its original purity, without even a slight alteration, omission or addition of a single word for the benefit and guidance of all the humanity through ages. Full evaluation of this contribution is to be made by the great Muslim Scholars. We may give here a brief outline of the concept and the basic sources of knowledge as enunciated in al-Qur'an.

(*a*) *Islamic Concept of knowledge* :

In the very first few verses (5), revealed to the Prophet, the meaning, purpose, scope and fields of knowledge have been very clearly indicated. "He taught (allama) man what he knew not", this verse asserts that 'talim'—teaching means imparting of information about things and matters not known before. 'Ilm'—knowledge, therefore, means knowing of un-known. The verse—"Who taught (allama) man by the pen" points out that pen is the symbol and the most effective means of human knowledge. The first two verses—"Read, in the name of thy Lord, who createth man from a clot"—very explicitly declared that the scopes and fields of knowledge are: the creator and His whole creation—God, man and matter.

Reading, writing and acquisition of useful knowledge were made incumbent upon the Muslims in this very first revelation to the prophet. That the bestower of knowledge and the best of the teachers in reality is God Himself, who is all knowing " Allam " and Omniscient (Alim). He Himself taught the Quran (allamal-Qur'an) and taught man speech and intelligence (al-bayan) (6) ; He taught Adam the names and properties of all the things(7). "God indeed conferred a great favour on the believers when he sent among them an apostle (Muhammad) from among themselves, rehearsing unto them the signs of God, sanctifying them and instructing them in Scripture (al-Qur'an), and wisdom while, before that, they had been in manifest error".(8). This verse clearly indicates the causes underlying the surprisingly rapid progress of the illiterate Beduins in the domain of knowledge and culture.

---

(1) 9 : 6 ; 48 : 15 (2) 36 : 2 (3) 39 : 23 (4) 3 : 7; 13 : 39, 43 : 4. (5) 96 : 1-5
(6) 55 : 2 (7) 2 : 31 (8) 3 : 164 Tr. YUSUF ALI.

(1) For definition of the term 'Ilm'—(knowledge), opposite of 'Jahl'—(ignorance), *see* books on al-Kalam, cf, sharh-al Mawaqif. For the definition of the term 'hikmah' (wisdom), *vide*-Usul-al-Fiqh of Bazdawi; Tafsir of Tabari under verse, 2 : 272. Al Maturidi defined 'Ilm' as; "an attribute by means of which afore-said" becomes manifest and clear to a person who is adorned with this attribute. So, it includes both spiritual and a cquired knowledge. Ash'arite defined 'Ilm as perception of the image of a thing in the mind. According to Ibn Khaldun, everything which could be learnt and required under-standing is Ilm. He makes distinction between 'Ilm and san'at (arts and crafts).

Al Qur'an emphatically declared that Conjecture (Zann); wishful and vain desire (hawan-nafs); baseless presumption, supposition or imagination (Takhayy'ul, tawah hum) can not be termed as knowledge ('Ilm). The following verses may be cited here for example: "They follow nothing but Conjecture (Zann) and what their own self desire, even though there has already come to them Guidance from their Lord (the Qur'an)."(2)

"But they have no knowledge ('Ilm) therein. They follow nothing but conjecture (Zann); and conjecture avails nothing against Truth"(3).

"O Ye who believe! avoid suspicion or conjecture (Zann) as much (as possible): for conjecture in some cases is a sin"(4).

"And those who differ therein are full of doubts, with no knowledge, but only conjecture to follow."(5).

"Then seest thou such a one as takes as his God his own vain desire (hawa) ?(6)

"And they say: "What is there but our life in this world ? We shall die and we live, and nothing but time can destory Us." But of that they have no knowledge : they merely conjecture."(7)

The word 'Ilm and its derivations have been repeated in the Qur'an on 855 occasions. Showing thereby the importance God Himself placed on acquisition of knowledge.

Like conjecture and vain desire, blind following (al-taqlid ul-Aama) can not lead to the realisation and understanding of truth. The Qur'an has strongly discarded not only following the footsteps of Iblis, but also of forefathers, any individual person or any other people blindly. Holy Qur'an says :

"O ye people, eat of what is on earth, lawful and good, and do not follow the footsteps of the evil one—Shaitan, for he is to you an avowed enemy. For he commands you what is evil and shameful, and that you should say of God that of which ye have not knowledge, when it is said to them (unbelievers): "follow what God hath revealed;" They say : "Nay, We shall follow the ways of our fathers". What! even though their fathers were void of wisdom and guidance".(8).

(1) 53 : 23 (2) 53 : 28 (3) 49 : 12 (4) 4 : 157 (5) 45 : 23
(6) 45 : 24 (7) 2 : 168-170 (8) 7 : 2-3.

"A Book (Qur'an) revealed unto thee,—So let thy heart be oppressed no more by any difficulty on that account,—that with it thou mightest warn (the erring) and teach the believers. Follow (O men !), the revelation given from your Lord, and follow not as friends or protector, other than Him"(1)

"And follow not thou the vain desires of such as treat our signs as falsehood............"(2)

"And follow not thoupath of those who know not........"(3)

"And we have put thee on the right way of religion: so follow thou that way, and follow not the vain desires of those who know not,"(4)

(*b*) *Sources of knowledge* :

Al-Qur'an has very emphatically announced that, conjecture, vain desire, hallucination illusion (*takhayyul* and *tawahhum*) and blind following (taqvid) cannot form the basis and source of true knowledge. In the Holy Qur'an people are constantly urged and inspired to exercise their reason and experience and to observe and study natural phenomena and historical evidences and to employ their all sense organs and intellect for perception of the reality and understanding the truth of the revelation. So, the sources of knowledge, according to al-Qur'an, are three : sense organs, revelation and reason. In the Holy Qur'an, constant appeal is made for the proper utilization of these means and sources of knowledge and wisdom (hikmah). We may quote here few connected verses :—

"It is God who brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers when ye knew nothing; and He gave you hearing and sight and intelligence and hearts that ye may be greatful,"(5)

"They have hearts wherewith they understand not, eyes wherewith they see not and ears wherewith they hear not. They are like cattle,—nay more misguided: for they are heedless."(6)

"Do not they travel through the land, so that their hearts (and minds) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear ? Truly it is not their eyes that are blind, but their hearts which are in their breasts."(7)

"Many were the ways of life that have passed away before you, travel through the earth and see what was the end of those who rejected the truth."(8)

"Say; "travel through the earth and see how God did originate creation..."(9)

---

(1) 6 : 150 (2) 10 : 89 (3) 45 : 18 (4) 16 : 78 (5) 7 : 179 (6) 22 : 46
(7) 3 ; 137 (8) 29 : 20 (9) *Vide* : verses comprising these words.

The Holy Qur'an repeatedly urges men for the proper and correct utilization of the three faculties of human mind: cognition, conation and volition. They are constantly asked for thinking (tafa'qur), deep reflection and meditation (tadab'bur) intelligent understanding (ta'aq qul) and intensive, and extensive and thorough study of human affairs (tafaq'quh) besides, study and observation of nature and experiment with the matters, (1). The Qur'anic command; "reflect, take into account, and ponder over (I'tabiru) O ye, who have vision",(2)—very positively refers to the use of both intellectual reasoning and analytical and analogical legal reasoning (3). Of the numerous verses, the following may be quoted here as an example :

> " On the earth there are signs for those of assured
> Faith. As also in your own selves, will ye not
> then see? And in heaven is your sustenance,
> as also that which ye are promised. Then, by
> the Lord of heaven and earth, this is the very
> Truth, as much as the fact that ye can speak
> intelligently to each other."(4)

In numerous verses God says that in the creation of man and his mate, of the heaven and the earth and in the variations of languages and colours, in the cloud, lightning, and rains which give life to dead earth and so on,—therein are signs—" for those who reflect" "for those who know", "for those who hearken", "for those who are wise", "for those who understand".(5)

Muslim scholars, theologians, traditionist, jurists, mystics and philosophers have dealt with the various aspects, nature, kinds and grades of knowledge from the earliest period of Islam, it will not be possible to give a detailed exposition of the subject in such a short article. Imam Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi (d. 333/944), is perhaps the first among the mutakallimun, who treated the subject very critically in his kitab-al-Tawhid, and following him, the Ash'arite theologians al-Baqillani (d. 403/10/3) and al-Baghdadi elaborately treated the subjects in their works.

Almost all the scholastic philosophers of the later period also followed al-Maturidi. The views of al-Maturidi on the sources of human knowledge, which have been accepted by all the theologicians of Ahlus Sunna Wa'l Jam'ma, are quoted here therefore, from the article of this writer on 'Maturidism' as published in the History of Muslim philosophy.(6)

---

(1) *Vide* Book on Usul al-Fiqh, chapter-al Qiyas.

(2) *Vide* Commentary—59:2 (3) 51:20-23 (4) 30:20-28

(5) *Vide*, for details, books of great authors on kalam and sufism, especially sharah Isharat of Razi and Tusi; Muqad'dima of Ibn Khaldun; Awariful Ma' arif of Suhrawardy; shrah Mawaqif of Jurjani; Kitab al-Tawhid of al-Maturidi, sharh aqaid Nasafi of taftazani; Hujjat ullah al-Baligha of Shah Waliullah; Al-Munqidh Min-al-dalal of Al-Ghazali and his Mish-katul Anwar

(6) Vol. 1. p. 262-63, Ed., M.M. Sharif.

(c) *Al-Maturidi on Sources of knowledge* :

Means of acquiring knowledge, according to al-Maturidi, are three: (1) Sense Organs (al-a'yan) (2) reports (al-akhbar) and(3) Reason (al-Nazr).

Al-Maturidi severely criticised the conflicting views of different groups who thought that knowledge is not attainable at all or that sense-organs cannot supply true knowledge, or that reason alone is sufficient to give us all knowledge. Refuting the Views of those who deny or doubt the possibility of knowledge altogether—agnostics and sceptics, or the possibility of acquiring knowledge through sense—organs, al-Maturidi says, that even animals perceive by their senses what may preserve or destroy them and what may be useful or harmful to them. So theoretical arguments with those who pretend to deny the objective reality of things is useless. Yet, he says, they may be humorously asked; "Do you know what you deny"? If they says: "No," their denial stands cancelled, but if they answer affirmatively, they admit the reality of their denial and thereby become opposers of their opposing. A more effective way than this is to make them subject to physical torture so that they may be compelled to admit what they deny of the reality of sensuous knowledge.

Reports are the means of acquiring knowledge concerning genealogy, past occurences, remote countries, useful and harmful things, food stuffs, medicine etc. Reports are of two kinds: historical reports (al-Khabr al-Mutawatir), and reports of the Prophets (Khabr al rusul), possessing sure signs to prove their honesty. Though both kinds of reports are proved to be sources of knowledge. We should be very critical in accepting reports of the Prophets, because they are handed down through chains of narrators who are not infalliable and who may commit mistakes in reporting.

Those who rejects reports as a source of knowledge are, al-Maturidi asserts, like those who reject senseous knowledge. In order to convince them, they should be physically tortured and if they complain of pain they should be told : your words of complaint are nothing but reports which can not give us any real knowledge.(1)

Reason, according to al-Maturidi, is the most important of all other sources of knowledge, because without its assistance sense and report can give no real knowledge. Knowledge of metaphysical realities and moral principles is derived through this source. It is reason which distinguishes men from animals. Al-Maturidi has pointed out many cases where nothing but reason can reveal the truth. This is why the Qur'an repeatedly enjoins man to think, to ponder, and judge by reason in order to find out the truth. Refuting the ideas of those who thinks that reason can not give true knowledge, he says, that they can not prove their doctrine without employing reason.(2)

Reason, no doubt, occupies a very eminent place in the Islamic System of learning, but it can not give, al-Maturidi holds, true knowledge concerning everything that we require to know. Like senses, it has a limit, beyond which it

(1) Al-Maturidi : Kitab-al-Tawhid, Ms, Cambridge, Pp. 3, 13. (2) *Ibid.*, rp. 4-5, 68-69

cannot go. Sometimes the true nature of human intellect is obscured and influenced by internal and external factors such as desire, motive, habit, environment and association, and as a result, it even fails to give us true knowledge of things that are within its own sphere. Divergent views and conflicting ideas of the learned concerning many a problem are mentioned by al-Maturidi as one of the proofs in support of his statement. Hence, reson often requires, he asserts, the service of a guide and helper who will protect it from straying, lead to the right path, help it understand delicate and mysterious affairs and know the truth. This guide, according to al-Maturidi; is the devine revelation received by a prophet. If any one will deny the necessity of this devine guidance through revelation and claim that reson alone is capable of giving us all the knowledge we need, them he will certainly overburden his reson and oppress it quite unreasonably.(1)

The necessity of the diviner revelation is not restricted, according to al-Maturidi, to religious affairs only, but its guidence is required in many wordly affairs too. The discovery of the different kinds of food stuff, medicine, invention of arts and crafts, etc. are the result of this divine guidance. Human intellect can not give any knowledge in respect of many of these matters, and if man had to rely on individual experience for the knowledge of all these things, then human civilization could not have made such rapid progress.(2)

Al-Maturidi also refutes the idea of those who think that the individual mind is the basis of knowledge and criterion of truth. He also does not regard inspiration (ilham) as a source of knowledge. Inspiration, he argues, creates chaos and conflict in the domain of knowledge, makes true knowledge impossible, and is ultimately liable to lead humanity to disintegration and destruction for want of a common standard of judgement and universal basis for agreement.(3)

The articles of religious belief are derived, according to al-Maturidi, from revelation, and the function of reason is to understand them correctly, There can be no conflict between reason and revelation, he asserts, if the real purport of the latter be correctly understood. The difference between the rational system of al Maturidi and that of the relationalists—the Mu' tazilites as well as that of the philosopher is quite fundamental. The Mu' tazilites and the philosophers formulated certain principles and doctrines on rational grounds and then tried to support their views by the verses of the Holy Qur'an, interpreting them in the light of their own doctrines. As regards the traditions of the Prophet, their attitude was to accept those which supported their views and to reject those which opposed them. (4)

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 92-95. (2) *Ibid.*, p. 91 (3) *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

(4) For different views of the Muslim thinkers on 'kashf' and 'ilham of the sufi mystics, *vide* : Al-Isharat of Ibnsina and its sharh by Al-Razi and Al-Tusi; Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldun; 'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif of Suhrawardy; Maktubat of Mujad-did Alfthani; and Miftah al Sa'adah of Taah kubrazada. For openions of the muslim scholars on the relation between reason and relation *vide* ;—Al-Ghazali al Munqidh-minal-dalal and Tahafut-al Falasifah; Ibn Rushd : Al-kashf an Manajij al-Adilla, and his Fasl al-Maqal; Ibn Taymiyah : Muafiqat Sarih al-Ma'qul-Li-sahih ak-Manqul, and Risalah al-Furqan; M. A. Raziq : Tamhid li-Tarikh al-Falasafah al-Islamiyyah.

d. *Harmony between religion and philosophy* :

It will be appropriate to give here a short outline of the views of the Muslim philosophers and distinguished theologians on the relation between reason and revelation, and harmony between religion and philosophy including science.

Al-kindi (185-200/801-873), who is known as the first Muslim philosopher, opened the door for the philosophical interpretation of the Qur'an and thereby made an attempt to bring about an accord between religion and philosophy. Two quite different views are given by him.

The first follows the way of the logician and reduces religion to philosophy. The second, considering religion a divine science raises it above philosophy. According to his later views, "the Qur'anic arguments, being divine, are more sure, certain and convincing than the philosophical arguments which are human. The Qur'an gives solution of some very important problems such as the creation of the world from nothing, and resurrection. Al-kindi holds that the Qur'anic arguments are beliefs, clear and comprehensive. "Thus, they lead to certainty and conviction. Hence, they were superior to philosophers arguments." (1)

According to Al-Farabi (258-339/870-950), the ultimate goal and the sole aim of religion and philosophy are same. 'Subject matters of both religion and philosophy are identical, both deal with the fundametals of the existence, the beginning and the primary cause of the existing being, the main purpose for which the human beings have been created and that purpose is attainment of the highest degree of happiness (sa'adah) in both of the existence. The difference is, that the philosophy offers certain and sure proofs, while the religion puts convincing satisfying (Iqna'at) proofs. (2)

The difference between religious and philosophical systems according to Ibn Sina (370-428/980-1037), who sought to establish the necessity of divine revelation by rationalistic arguments, is that religion is basically concerned with action while philosophy is basically concerned with rational theories. The fundamentals of practical science (al-hikmat-al 'amaliyyah) is derived from Divine—Law (al-shari'ah Ilahiyyah) and the reasoning faculty of men then is employed for understanding these laws and for applying them in particulars. Where as, the basis of speculative science (al-Hikmat-an-Nazariyyah) is derived from the people of theistic religion (al-Millat al-Ilaiyyah) as a matter of pre-caution and the highest rational faculty is employed fully to prove it rationally through demonstration. (3)

Ibn Rushd (520-595/1126-1198), who wrote his "Tahafut-al-Tahafut" in refutation of Imam al Ghazali's "Tahafut-al-Falasifah, wrote a separate treatise called : "Fasl al Maqal fi ma bain-al-shari' ah w'al Hikmah min-al-Ittisal," to prove that

---

(1) History of Muslim Philosophy, ed. M. M. Asharaf; vol. 1, p. 427.

(2) M. A. Raziq : Tamhid, op. at. p. 78-79.

(3) M. A. Raziq : Al-Tamhid op. at, p. 79, quoting from 'al-tabiyiyat'.

philosophy is quite in accord with the revealed religion Islam. "The objective of the shari'ah is" writes Ibn Rushd, "to teach the true knowledge and the correct action. The true knowledge is the knowledge of God ; of all the other beings as such, and particularly, which among these are noble; and the knowledge of the happiness and unhappiness in the hereafter. The true action consists in practicing the work, conducive to happiness (sa' adah), and refraining from those which cause miseries. Acquiring knowledge of such action is called the practical science. (1)

We may conclude this chapter by a reference to the views of the great theologian, " the proof of Islam", Imam al-Ghazali (450-505/1058-1111), who pursued a middle course and criticized the rigidity of those theologians who vehementy opposed the study of all rational sciences, as well as he assailed the irrational attitude of the philosophers on certain points. Al-Ghazali divided the philosophers into three main groups: 'dahriyyun'—the atteists; 'tabi 'yisyun'—the naturalists, and 'ilahiyyun'—the theist. Al-Ghazali, giving a detailed exposition of the views of the philosophers observed that they very effectively exposed the defects of the materialists and the naturalists, thus saving others from combating them. Aristotle had criticized all his predecessors and refuted their views including his teacher Plato. It now remains to refute the views of Aristotle and his blind followers. The differences between the Aristotelian philosophers and others religious groups are of three kinds ;—one kind of difference is only of the techical terms, other kind of difference does not clash with the religions fundamentals the third kind of difference is of such nature which is in conflict with religious fundamentals such as; the creation of the world, attributes of God and the resurrection of the bodies. Al-Ghazali finally charges the philosophers with infidelity on three points : (a) their dogma of eternity of the world, (b) denial of the Gods' knowledge of the particulars, and (c) denial of bodily resurrection. (2)

"Al-Ghazali's quarrel with the philosophers is because many of their arguments are logically false, and the various positions that they take in their system as a whole are inconsistent with one another, but above all, because some of their basic assumptions are unfounded." (3)

It is quite evident that the most influential Muslim theologians and scholars were not against the acquisition of knowledge of speculative sciences. They laid stress, no doubt, on the study of exact and practical sciences for the greater benefit of the society. In the curriculam and courses of studies prescribed in the colleges and Universities during the golden period of the Muslim rule, all the branches of knowledge, as we have seen, were included.

---

(1) *Ibid*, p. 78; History of Muslim philosophy, vol. 1, op. cit. pp. 544—547.

(2) Al-Munqidh min al dalal, pp. 85—88; Tahafut, p. 9—13; History of Muslim Philosophy vol. 1, op. cit. pp. 593—596.

(3) History of Muslim Philosophy, op. al, p. 597.

e. Degrees of knowledge :

The Holy Qur'an has repeatedly asserted that the truth of the Divine revelation can be fully grasped only by men of correct understanding and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge (u'lul albab and U'lul'ilm) (1). Al-Qur'an, therefore, enjoins the seekers after truth, to reach steps by steps and by degrees to the highest peak of certitude in knowldege. Knowledge is divided in the Qur'an, in respect of certainty, into three degrees : (i) ilm-ul Yaqin, (ii) 'ain ul-Yaqin, and (iii) haqqul-Yaqin. The certainty in knowledge, resulting from the application of man's power of judgement, faculty of reasoning or inference, is called 'ilm al-Yaqin-knowledge by inference, for example, the knowledge of a child that fire burns. Knowledge resulting from the reports of others including historical knowledge comes under this category. The certitude resulting from personal observation by sense perception such as by seeing something with our own eyes, is ain-ul-Yaqin, konwledge by personal observation and inspection, for example, seeing that fire burnt the finger of Zaid.

There is the possibility of error of inference, of wrong judgement, due to false report or defect of sense organs and many others factors. Now if I put my fingers in fire, and the fire burnt my fingers, then the certitude attained by such actual personal experiences is termed as 'haqqul-Yaqin', knowledge by actual personal experience.(2) It is only the Divine revelation through which men can hope to acquire haqq-ul Yaqin, a perfect knowledge, free from all errors in respect of all theological and spiritual matters.

The impact of the Islamic theory of knowledge, as developed by the Mulim theologians and philosophers, on the Jewish and Christian theologians and philosophers of middle ages has been very deep and resulted in the origin of different schools of thoughts in the West. It is hoped, some specialists in Mulsim philosophy and Islamic theology will deal with the subject adequately. In the following pages, we shall try to give a brief outline of general character relating to the contributions of the Muslims in the development of various sciences and arts.

f. Views of the western Writers on the Contributions of the Muslims :

The Western Scholars have systematically tried to ignore and black mail the momentous achievements of the Muslims in the different branches of science and arts due to their religious perjudices and racial hatred, but in spite of this attitude, some of them had to acknowledge the lasting contributions of the Muslims towards the intellectual development of the modern Europe. Criticizing this attitude of the European scholars, William Darper in his : "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe" Writes :

"I have to deplore the systematic manner in which the literature of Europe has contrived to put out of sight our scientific obligations to Mohammadans.

---

(1) 3 : 7, 18.

(2) Vide—Verses, 69 : 51; 102: 3—7, and their commentaries.

Injustice founded on religious rancour and national conceit can not be perpetuated for ever. The Arab has left his intellectual impress on Europe, as before long Christendom will have to confess, he has indelibly written it on the heavens, as any one may see who reads the names of stars on a common celestial globle". (1).

Dr. A. Bretherand, a noted French orientalist observes that those who have followed the guidance of the Qur'an have been "the creator of a civilisation which is astounding unto this day".

Commenting on the impact of the Muslims on the development of the European civilisation, Robert Briffault Says :

"It is highly probable that but for the Arabs modern European civilisation would have never arisen at all; it is absolutely certain that but for them, it would have not assumed that character which has enabled it to transcend all previous phases of evolution. For although there is not a single aspect of European growth in which the decisive influence of Islamic culture is not traceable, no where it is so clear and momentous as in the genesis of that power which constitute the permanent distinctive force of the modern world and supreme sources of its victory—natural sciences and the scientific spirit.". (2).

John W. Compbell says : "Islam invented science. Nor greece nor Roman started modern science. Islam has achieved what no other civilisation had developed and had been able to do. The Mulsim scholars were the torch-bearers of civilisation and culture. Their activities in studying science and arts exceeded those of any other nation. The christian west was, therefore, compelled to seek training from the only source available at the time for illuminating their minds, *i.e.*, the works of the Arabian writers of the Muslim World".

G.P. Scott in his "Moorish Empire in Europe", frankly admits: "No achievements of ancient or modern times was perfected with such rapidity or produced such decisive effect upon the intellectual progress of the human race as that of the Arab".

Marquis of Dufferin asserts: "It is of the Mussulman science to Mussulman art, and to Mussulman literature that Europe has been in a great measure indebted for its extrication from the darkness of the middle ages."

Commenting on the contributions of the Arab Muslims to modern science and civilisation Robert Briffault remarks : "The debt of our sciences to that of the Arabs does not consists in startling discoveries or revolutionary theoires. Science owes a great more to Arabs, its very existence. What we call science arose in Europe as a result of the new scinetific inquiry of new methods, of the investigation of the new methods of experiment, observance, measurements,

---

(1) For valuable and original contributions of the Muslims to Astronomy *vide* : Shushtery, op. cit, pp. 131—135; Dr. Hamidullah : Introduction to Islam, p. 193.

(2) The making of Humanity.

of the development, mathematics in a form unknown to Greeks. That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European world by Arabs. Science is the most momentous contribution of the modern world. It was not science alone which brought back Europe to life. Other manifold influences from the civilisation of Islam communicated its first glow to European life". (1)

Prof. Philip K. Hitti, in two short sentences has shown the process of transmission of 'Arabic science' to European countries : "By the close of 13th century, Arabic science and philosophy had been transmitted to Europe, and Spain's works as an intermediary was done. The intellectual avenue leading from the portails of Taledo through the pyreness wound its way through Provence and Alpine passes into Lorraine, Germany and central Europe as well as across the channel into England".

Conclusion :

In fact, there is no field of learning and branch of knowledge to which the Muslim did not contribute profoundly. some western scholars have already indicated the path and started working in their own way for an assessment and evaluation of their contributions. But to deal satisfactorily with the long history of the achievements of the Muslim in the different branches of learing, arts and science : Philosophy, history, trigonometry, mineralogy, agriculture, medicine and social science, natural history, history of art and science, philosophy of history, law, international law, topography, etc., it will require the joint and united efforts of the specialists and scholars for compilation of volumes for each and every branch of knowldege. For centuries, Islamic culture and civilization, enlightened the whole world; the economic, social, political and educational systems of Islam brought happiness to mankind, and maintained their predominance and supremacy for long. Islam really served the humanity as a dominant and powerful humanizing, cultural and civilizing force and wherever its teaching spread, it transformed the whole masses into a community of enlightened intellectuals and produced revolutionary changes in all sphere of life.

But, unfortunately those glories and achievements have now become a very distressing tale of the past. The destruction of the great intellectual centres and cultural monuments of the Muslims in the East and the West, including the Universities of Baghdad, cordova and Granada; the burning of numerous rich libraries containing thousands of MSS, at a time when the printing press had not yet been invented; and massacres of hundreds of learned intellectuals, struck death blows to the intellectual, cultural and political supremacy of the Muslim. Yet, the Muslim world and the Islamic spirit survived, and produced a number of world-renowned thinkers, scholars, philosophers, historians and scientists even during this period of decadence. But the political subjugation of the Muslim

(1) The making of Humanity. All the above quotations are taken from Islamic Literature, Lahore, August, 1968.

world from Morocco to Indonesia, one after another, by the western imperialistic powers, followed by the cultural and intellectual domination of the West, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, through imposition of the western materialistic system of education, utterly destroyed the basic foundation of the Muslim Millah, drove them away from their ethical and spiritual mooring and the imperialistic design thus succeeded in disintegrating the whole Muslim society. In the previous chapter, we have indicated the evil effects of the western system of secularistic education on the life, thought and culture of the muslim people.

Now, from the middle of the nineteenth century, a powerful movement of Islamic Renaissance has come into being, and the Muslim nation has began to realize that without re-orientation of the prevalent educational system they can not expect to play their role, as destined by Allah, in the modern world. Grafting of 'Islamyat' to the western "tree of knowledge" will never produce palatable fruits for Millat-i-Islamiyyah. Grafting of modern western knowledge to the true Islamic tree of knowledge, may give us long desired nutritious fruits. In order to free the Muslim Millah from the political, economic, cultural and intellectual domination of the west, revolutionary changes in the existing educational system is of utmost importance.

The Islamic system of education have always made a balanced and harmonious combination of all the branches of learning without making any distinction between religious and secular subjects. A perfect Islamic system of education must be based on the true concept of 'tawhid' as enunciated in the Holy Qur'an and sunnah; must aim at the fullest development of charactor and personality; must emphasize cultivation of virtue, must be capable of producing learned scholars for different branches of learning, who will feel proud to be a member of the Islamic Millah and be pledged to bring peace, prosperity and happiness of both the world for the humanity at large. Such a system of education only can unfold the latent capacities and reveal the dormant genious and potentialities of the Muslim people, make them fully competent to discharge their duties and obligations as khalifatullah for establishing the kingdom of Allah on the earth as promised by Him :

"God has promised, to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that he will, of surity, grant them in the land, inheritance (of powers), as He granted it to those before them; that He will establish in authority their relegion— the one which He has chosen for them; and that He will change (their state) after the fear in which they lived, to one of security and peace". (1)

---

(1) 24 : 55.

CONTRIBUTION OF ISLAM TO CIVILIZE THE MANKIND

Islam is a complete code of life. Allah gave the education to the holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) through His Messenger Gibrael. Read in the name of Allah who created you. He created man from a clot. Read, and your Allah is most honourable, who Taught (to write) with the pen, Taught man he knew not. (Quran-96; 1—5) The main object of Islam is the welfare of the human beings Allah is the real Master of the Universe and the human beings. He controls the affairs of the Universe, therefore, the human beings have been ordered for complete submission to Him. He has been guiding the destiny of the human beings for all the times. Allah has sent servaral Prophets and saints to guide them. They preached the oneness of His supreme power and taught them ethics to behave with each other. The Prophets were the legal representatives of Allah on earth. They prossessed balanced character and were guided by Allah Himself through His Messenger, they were poius, kind hearted with perfect personalities. Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was the last prophet. He was chosen for the regeneration of mankind. He acted according to the will of Allah and led a very successful life.

From the earliest times to the advent of Islam, the corruption and the darkness had prevailed in the world. According to Quran, 'Corruption has appeared in the land and the sea on account of what the hands of men have wrought' (30; 41). Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism and other religions of the world, had lost all healthy influence on their followers. The Christianity of the seventh century had insensibly relaped into a semblance of paganism and it 'was itself decrepit and corrupt'. (1) It had lost the spirit of its mission. 'It was rent with schism and heresies. The religion of Jesus had reverted to Heathenism, and the religions conception of the masses was only an infiltration of the Pagan cult. Besides, the souls of the dead were worshipped and their relies and images were the objects of chief adoration'. (2) The people all over the world had sunk to a state of complete moral depravity. Their social condition was equally deplorable. They committed deadly sin and felt pride of it. The moral miseries of the Arabs had surpassed. They were sunk in the lowest depths of superstition, ignorance, cruelty and vice, throughly barharous and no better than beasts, without the slightest tinge of civilized life'. (3) They had no settled life and led a nomadic life wandering from place to place alongwith their cattle. 'Wine, women, war and vices summed up their lives'. (4) It is true that they were hospitable, generous and brave but all these qualities were 'shadowed by their dark lives of horrible vices and inhuman cruelties'. (5) The religion of the Arabs as well as of the Indians was

(1) William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, London, 1894, p. 67.

(2) Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, *The Ideal Prophet*, Working, 1925, p. 25.

(3) Mohammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin, *The Holy Prophet Mohammad*, London, 1939, p. 6.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

idolatry and also consisted in the warship of the sun, the moon and the fixed stars, a primitive and specious mode of superstition. In the Arb Peninsula, the people were so characterless that sons treated the widows of their fathers as their viwes. There were no moral, religious or social restrictions, no limits to marriage, no restraints on divorce. Human sacrifice was prevalent, and they used to bury their dauthers alive at the time of their birth. Their life was barbarity of the worst type. Women had no status in the society. They had no right to claim any share in the property, neither from father nor from husband. In short the whole world in general and the Arabian Peninsula in particular was wrapped in darkness before the advent of Islam.

Allah is Great and merciful. During the period when the human consciousness had reached its lowest stage of degradation, and the world needed a reformer; the holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) appeared and the world saw the glory of Allah and of Islam. Islam rooted out idolatory from Arabia. It forbade drinking and gambling. Quran says, 'people are a single nation, so Allah raised Prophets as bearers of good news and as warners, and He revealed with them the Book with truth, that it might judge between people in that which they differed, and none but the very people who were given it differed about it after clear arguments had come to them, revolting among themselves, so Allah has guided by His will those who believe the truth about which they differed, and Allah guides them wohm He pleases to the right path'. (Quran-2;213). Before the advent of Islam, the Roman Empire and the Iranian Empire had a greater political influence over a large portion of the world. But with the appearance of the holy Prophet, both the powers started loosing their political, cultural and social influence over the people. 'The genius of the Arabian Prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion, involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe'. (1) Allah sent a Great reformer to this universe who reformed the human beings. He led a very successful life and it was all due to his own personal character and the proper guidance of Allah. 'According to the tradition of his companions,* Mahomet was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commending presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the

(1) Gibbon, E., *Decline An Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1896, p. 469.

*Hazrat Bibi Ayesha, Hazrat Ali bin Abu Talib and Hazrat Abu Horaira. Also see : Ockley's History of the Saracens, ii, p. 149.

soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue'. This respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca, the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence.[1] It is true that the holy Prophet met with great difficulties and the Meccans apposed him. They did not allow him to speak truth. They were not willing to depart from their old vices. But his firmness in a right direction forced them to listen his message. As Quran says that, 'By Allah, most certainly We sent (apostles) to nations before you, but the devil made their deeds fair-seeming to them, so he is their guardian today, and they shall have a painful chastisement'. (16-63). The holy Prophet was the deputy and a true representative of Allah on earth. He guided the destiny of his people and brought them to lead a life according to the tenets of Quran. According to the holy Book, 'There is no doubt in this book—a guidance to the pious, who believe in the Unseen, who observe the prayers and distribute (charity) out of what We have bestowed on them; and who believe in that which We have commissioned thee with, and who have assurance in the life to come; (these have received the direction of their Allah'. (Quran-2; 1—6). In order to get the people understand the basic political philosophy of Islam, the holy Prophet clearly said during his last sermon on the occasion of his last pilgrimage in Arafat (Mecca) that if you follow Al-Quran and his Shariat, you would never be misled'.[2]

Islam attracted the people because of its virtues. It provided gustice to all. It protected the weak from the powerful. The main contribution of Islam is that it gave respect to the humanity. It civilized the mankind. It provided liberty and reated every body with equality and gave them the lesson of submission to Allah only. Islam offered its religion but never enforced it. According to Islamic laws, 'liberty of conscience and freedom of worship were allowed and guaranteed to the followers of every other creed under Muslim dominion.'[3] Quran says that, 'let there be no compulsion in religion'. (2—257). The Muslim never persecuted the non-muslims (Zimmis). It offered them shelter and protection. According to Hazrat Ali 'the blood of the Zimmi is like the blood of the Moslem'.[4] According to Islam Sovereignty belongs to Allah who is the Creater of the universe.[5] In an Islamic State, the duty of the chief executive is to enforce the Quranic laws. He cannot devise any system or law which has not been prescribed by the Quran and the holy Prophet. The main object of an Islamic State is the welfare of the human beings. According to Sura Nur (Al-Quran), every body has the equal rights in an Islamic State to administer the affairs collectively. This way the feelings of collective responsibility develops among the Muslims. They develope a sense of brotherhood based on one

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 486.

[2] Shah Ismail (Shaeed), *Mansab-e-Imamat*, (translated by Muhammad Husain Alvi), Lahore, 1962, p. 73.

[3] Ameer Ali Syed, *The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1923, p. 212.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[5] Al-Quran, 2-107; 25-2; 6-73.

nationhood. In an Islamic State, it is the duty of the State to protect the life, honour and property of its citizens (Quran-2,188; 4, 29, 17, 33). The people should feel a sense of security. 'Man must live in society. He cannot be happy without it'. 'The holy Prophet laid down principles of universal brotherhood, and succeeded in establishing it in his own lifetime'.[1] Freedom of conscience is always respected. During the period of early Caliphate, 'no person in the camp or in the city was a stranger to public affairs. Every Friday after divine service, the Commander of the Faithful mentioned to the assembly the important nominations and events of the day. The Prefects in their provinces followed the example. No one was excluded from these general assemblies of the public. It was the reign of democracy in its best form'.[13] Islam teaches that the people should lead a clean life based on brotherhood with condition of submission to Allah only. Man is a social animal. He should feel his responsibilities towards his fellow brothern. Islam inculcates a sense of brotherhood better called Ummah which is based on religion and not on kinship. Islam does not believe in race, colour and creeed. It inclucates the respect for the sanctity of life. According to the holy Quran,'he who slays one human being; it is as if he had slain all mankind; he who saves one human being; it is as if he had saved all mankind'. (5—35). Islam is against social injustice and economic inequality.

The holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), being a Great thinker, a philosopher and a Great reformer guided the destiny of the people and proved himself worthy of the leadership. It was an age of darkness when his unrivalled personality devoted his whole life for the welfare of the humanity. He was full of human sympathy, the best friend and saviour of the poor, the weak, the orphans and the slaves. It was due to his perfect, stainless and impeachable character that he remained free of all the follies and temptations and his followers became torch bearer of Islamic Culture and civilization in those days of utter darkness and chaos. The holy Prophet showed the way to the humblest and the lowliest, that raised them to the highest pinnacle of glory. 'The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The Prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish'.[3] The holy Prophet had the ideal personality who in his life-time moulded the character of his fellow-men, reformed them, changed their thoughts, put new ideals before them, elevated them to a higher plane, and driven them to the Path of progress, to the funless of a better and holier life.

Another great object of the advent of the holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was to teach the world the highest of morals. He himself declared;

[1] Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[2] Ameer Ali Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[3] Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 489.

t hat he had been sent for the perfection of morals. His stead fastness, forgieveness, tolerance and humility; his generosity and his purity of life are above all comparisons and beacon-light to his followers.

During the seventh century, the greatest contribution of Islam to mankind was that it civilized the world. Islam opposed the polytheistic attitude of Christianity and the other religions. The message of Islam remained submission to Allah till this day. Islam stressed on the self respect and trustfulness. It also teaches a spirit of sacrifice, fair dealing and contentment. Islam performed miracles and changed the life of the people. Islam teaches not to bear false witness, not to deprive orphans of their property and not to be suspicious of women. The holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was 'the most successful of all the Prophets and religious personalities'.[1] The holy Prophet reformed the Arabs and succeeded in his mission. 'He worked out such a political social, mental and theological transformation in his own time as has never been effected in any country or in any nation even by successive generations of reformers. His was the voice of thunder. The most deep-rooted evils were swept away before his mighty word like straws before a hurricane. He aroused men from their death-like sleep and carried them to the highest pinnacle of development'.[2] Islam taught the people bravery, courage, highmindedness, patience, persevrance, tolerance, courtesy, meekness, humility, forgiveness, love, devotion, merery, generosity, contentment, selflessness, trustworthiness and trust in Allah instead of anger, enmity, malice, prijudice, tyranny, hypocrisy, cowardness, meanness, laziness, dishonesty, pride and the habit of backbiting. The teachings of Islam gave birth to a consciousness based on virtues.

Islam believes that man cannot live without the society. He must fulfil the demands and the needs of a society. Without it, he is unhappy. He must serve others, so will be served by them automatically. His rights are the duties of the others and the duties of the others are his rights. One should cultivate a spirit of brotherhood based on universalism. Islam introduced such golden principles first time in the history of mankind which brought the people together on one platform. The pilgrimage to Mecca is a unique example where all the Muslims get together without any distinction of cast, colour and creed. It strengthens the feelings of universal brotherhood based on Islam. This way, they understand eachother and develop the feelings of brotherhood. Which lead them to form Muslim nationhood-Ummah. It is a real great contribution of Islam which has civilized the mankind, comparing to other religions, Islam is the religion of Allah, it does not believe on priesthood, whereas the other religions are the religions of the priests. Without the clergy peoplele the services in the churches and in the temples are not possible. Islam—being a light from the Heaven purified and illuminated the mind of its believers. Another contribution

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition; art, 'Koran'.

[2] Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

of Is'am to civilize the mankind is that it brin;s the attention of the people to the life after death whereas the other religions are silent on this subject. The object is that the people should judge their deeds and should be ready for the day of Judgement.[1] It brings the people to be ready for their own accountability.

The teachings of Islam civilized the Bedouin people of the Seventh century who were living in an age of darkness based on their beliefs in demons and other evil spirits. Islam revolutionised the whole society. During the period of lawlessness, it forced the people to be the law abiding citizens of the Islamic State. In a very short period of time, the people started living a peaceful and settled life. Islam also worked against slavery. It induced and encouraged the faithfuls to emancipate the slaves. It asked them to pay respects to the humanity. Islam also paid respect and gave rights to woman. She received the worst treatment from the Christianity but it was th holy Prophet who raised her status from the lowest possible depths to a level to that of man.[2] Woman was called 'the organ of the devil', and 'a scorpion ever ready to sting', by all the religions but it was only Islam which raised her 'to such a height as she had never dreamed of before'.[3] The holy Quran gave the name of '*Mohina*' to Woman. Islam believes that she is the 'lighthouse of virtue'. The holy Prophet said that 'Woman is the sovereign of your house'.[4] According to holy Quran, she 'is a garment of man as he is her garment'. (2—187). She is a fountain of love and affection. The holy Prophet said that the 'Paradise lies at the feet of a mother'.[5] It is clear that Islam always contributed towards the civilization of mankind.

Islam paid respect to the learned scholars and induced the Muslim to acquire knowledge. Illiteracy has no place in Islam. The holy Prophet said that 'the ink of the scholar is more holy, than the blood of the martyr'. The same way he said that 'the acquisition of knowldege is a duty incumbent on every Muslim, male and female'.[6] It resulted that the Muslims left their homes in search of knowledge and contributed a lot in the welfare of the humanity. This way 'arts and sciences flourished among the Arabians for almost six hundred years, under the Abasside and Ommiade Caliphs'.[7] Mr. Davenport, in his admirable "Apology for Mohammad and the Koran", observes as follows: 'It is a monstrous error to suppose, as some have done, and others still do, that the faith taught by the Koran was propagated by the sword alone, for it will be readily admitted, by all unprejudiced minds, that Mohammad' religion—by which prayers and alms were substituted for the blood of human victims, and

---

[1]Mohammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 318.

[2]Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 141.

[3]*Ibid.*, pp. 142, 143.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 144.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 144.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 153.

[7]Ahmed Khan, Sir Syed, *A Series of Essays on the life of Muhammad*, Lahore, 1968, p. 144, c.f. Mr. Davenport, *Apology for Mohammad and the Koran*.

which, instead of hostility and perpetual feuds, breathed a spirit of benevolence and of the social virtues, and must, therefore, have had an important influence upon civilization—was a real blessing to the Eastern world, and, consequently, could not have needed exclusively the sanguinary means so unsparingly and so unscrupulously used by Moses for the extirpation of idolatory'. [1] During the same period when Islam served the humanity, the western world was being ruled by 'rude barbarism' and 'literature became almost extinct'. [2]

During the period of barbarism, Islam showed the path of love for humanity. It announces that the path which leads to God is the helping of the orphan, the relieving of the poor, and the ransoming of the captive. It led its followers to work unitedly for the welfare of the human beings. The Muslims spread Islam all over the world. They also spread the knowledge of arts and sciences all over the world. The scholars were duly patronised by the Caliphs. It resulted that the Muslim scholars showed the right path to the mankind. One of the greatest contributions of Islam to the mankind is in the field of knowledge. Islam gave proper education to its followers. It encouraged the learnings. The spirit of Islam is based on proper education. An illiterate person can never be a true Muslim. He has to read and understand the basic philosophy of Quran. Islam encourages its followers to get knowledge in all other fields of arts and sciences. Its services to the humanity have been admitted even by the non-Muslim scholars. Mr. Davenport writes that, 'It must be owned, that all the knowledge, whether of Physics, Astronomy, Philosophy, or Mathematics, which flourished in Europe from the tenth century, was originally derived from the Arabian schools; and that the spanish Saracens, in a more particular manner, may be looked upon as the fathers of European philosophy'. 'Europe is still further indebted to Mohammadanism; for, not to mention that to the struggles during the Crusades we mainly owe the abolition of the onerous parts of the feudal system, and the destruction of those aristocratic despotisms on the ruins of which arose the proudest bulwark of our liberties. Europe is to be reminded that she is indebted to the followers of Mohammed, as the link which connects ancient and modern literature, for the preservation, during a long reign of Western darkness, of the works of many of the Greek philosophers, and for the cultivation of some of of the most important branches of science, mathematics, medicine, etc., which are highly indebted to their labours.'[3]

The advantages that human society derived from Islam are enormous. During the advent o Islam, the condition of the masses in the whole world was deplorable. They had 'no civil rights or political privileges'. These were monopolised by the rich people. 'The peasantry and the poor classes were 'under th

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 144. c.f. Davenport.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

control of lawless despotism'. Even the condition of the 'free-men was' not better 'than that of the ordinary serfs'. In such circumstances, 'Islam gave to the people a code with which, however, archaic in its simplicity, was capable of the greatest development in accordance with the progress of material civilization. It conferred on the State a flexible constitution, based on a just appreciation of human rights and human duty. It limited taxation, it made men equal in the eye of the law, it consecrated the principles of self-Government. It established a control over the sovereign power by rendering the executive authority subordinate to the law,—a law based upon religious sanction and moral obligations.[1]

The holy Prophet preached to acquire knowledge because it enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden and what is not. 'He who travels in search of knowledge, to him God shows the way of paradise [2]. The Islamic State 'formed the nucleus of an educational institution, which in after years grew into universities at Baghdad and Salerno, at Cairo and Cordova [3]. The literary and scientific activities started developing gradually and reached at its zenith during the abbaside period. Numerous academies, madrassas and other literary institutions were established in Baghdad under the patronage of the Abbasides. Under Mansur's patronage the 'literary and scientific works in foreign languages were first translated into Arabic'.[4] His successors were not only warm patrons of learning but also proved to be great scholars. They contributed a lot in the branch of Knowledge. They assisted literary meetings and philosophical disenssions. Following on the footsteps of their Caliphs, Governors and subordinate officers also patronised arts and sciences. Even non-Muslims came to the Islamic state and attended the Muslim madrassas. During the period of Haroon and Mamun, the scholars added greatly to human knowledge. 'It is from the glorious days of Abbaside rulers that the real renaissance of Greek spirit and Greek culture is to be dated'.[5] The golden period of the Abbaside was 'the epoch of greatest power, splendour and prosperity of Islamic rule'. 'During the reign of Cliph Al-Mamun (813—833) the new learning reached its climax'[6]. 'The Muslim scientists did not confine their activities to the translations of Greek works, but they had their original contributions to the realm of science'. 'Muslim Scientists made wonderful achievements in the sphere of medical science and here also their line of discovery was different from that pursued by the Greek'.[7] This way the Muslims contributed to the civilization of mankind. Their achievements in the fields of astronomy, geography, agriculture and botany also contributed a lot in the welfare and development of the human beings. 'The economic development of the Saracenic civilization remains to this day one of the marvels of history'. 'The influence of the Saracenic civilization upon medieval Europe and upon the Renaissance was almost incalculable '.[8] In short Islam 'inaugurated the reign of intellectual liberty'[9] and it served the cause of mankind.

---

[1]Ameer Ali Syed, *op. cit.*, pp. 268, 270, 277.
[2]*Ibid.*, p. 361. [3]*Ibid.*, p. 362. [4]*Ibid.*, p. 370. [5]Ahmed Khan, Sir Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
[6]Arnold, Sir Thomas, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1960, p. 315.
[7]Abdul-Hameed Siddiqui, *Main Springs of Western Civilisation*, Lahore, 1975, pp. 91, 93.
[8]Burns, Edward Mc Nall, *Western Civilizations*, New York, 1958, pp. 301, 303.
[9]Ameer Ali Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Abu-Al-Maududi, Syed Maulana, *Sirat-i-Sarwar-i-Alam*. vol. I & II, Lahore, 1978.

2. Abul Kalam Azad, *Rasul-i-Rehmat* (edited by Ghulam Rasool Mehr), Lahore, 1970.

3. Ameer Ali Syed, *The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1923.

4. Ahmad Khan, Sir Syed, *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad*, Lahore, 1968.

5. Abdul-Hameed Siddiqui, *Main Springs of Western Civilizations*, vol. I, New York, 1958.

6. Abdul Hameed Siddiqui, *The Life of Muhammad*, Lahore, 1975.

7. Arnold, Sir Thomas, *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1960.

8. Arberry, A.J., *Aspects of Islamic Civilization*, New York, 1964.

9. Bury, J. B., *A History of Freedom of Thought*, London, 1912.

10. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition.

11. Byrbsm, Edward Mc Nall, *Western Civilizations*, vol. I, New York, 1958.

12. Gibbon, E., *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1896.

13. Guizot, F., *The History of Civilization*, London, 1887.

14. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Baltimore, 1950.

15. Hitti, K. Phillip, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1951.

16. Ibn Khaldun, *Muqadama* (Biographical Dictionary), Karachi.

17. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din *The Ideal Prophet*, Wobing, 1925.

18. Levy, Reuben, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1971.

19. Muhammad Husain Haikal, *Hayat-i-Muhammad* (translated by Abu Yahya Imam Khan), Lahore, 1976.

20. Mohammad Ali Al-Haj Salmin, *The Holy Prophet Mohammad*, London, 1939.

21. Montgomery Watt. W., *Muhammad At Mecca*, London, 1968.

22. Montgomery Watt. W., *Muhammad at Medina*, London, 1968.

23. Robert Briffaut, *The Making of Humanity*, London, 1938.

24. Sulaiman Nadvi, Syed, *Sirat-i-Nabi*, Azamgarh, 1336 A.H.

25. Shjbli Naumani, *Sirat-i-Nabi*, Lahore, 1326 A. H.

26. Stokes, S.E., *The Failure of European Civilization As a World Culture*, Madras, 1921.

27. Shah Ismail (Shaeed), *Mansab-e-Imamat* (translated by Muhammad Husain Alvi), Lahore, 1962.

28. The Life of Muhammad (A translation of Ishaq's *Surat Rasul Allah*), Karachi, 1974.

29. William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, London, 1894.

CONTRIBUTION OF ISLAM TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The mosque in Islam

A socio-politico-religious institution

In Islam no one man is higher than the other, each man in Islam is his own priest, his soul rises to his Creator without any intervention. Every place in which he faithfully worships the Almighty is equally pure. Al-Qur'an says:" It is not righteousness that you turn your faces in prayer towards the east or the west; but righteousness is of him who believes in Allah; ... who gives money for Allah's sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for the redemption of captives; who is constant at prayers and gives alms; and of those who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted; and who behave themselves patiently in hardship and adversity, and in times of violence; these are they who are true" (Sura ii, 177). "It is not the flesh or the blood of that which you sacrifice which is acceptable to Allah", al-Qur'an says, "it is your piety which is acceptable to the Lord" (Sura xxii, 37).

An English writer observing this writes, "it is one of the glories of Islam that its temples are not made with hands, and that its ceremonies can be performed anywhere upon God's earth or under His heaven" (Hunter, Our Indian Musalmans, p. 179). In Islam a sanctuary is not a fundamental necessity as every place is the same to Allah and humility in His presence through ritual prayer could be shown anywhere. The Prophet (sm.) says : "I have been given the whole world as a Masjid, while earlier prophets could only pray in churches and synagogues. Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes you, you should perform the salat and that is a masjid", (Muslim, masjid, 1). According to this there was no need of building any mosque separately to perform prayer. Whereas, the building of a mosque became a pious and meritorious work as the Prophet (sm.) exhorted the builder of a mosque saying : "for him who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah will build an abode in paradise", (Bukhari, salat, bab 65; Muslim, masjid, tr. 4).

Unlike christian church, Jewish synagogue and Hindu temple, wherein are dedicated ritual objects, the mosque of Islam is free from them. In the great days of Islam, mosque was a place where the Muslims assembled for prayer around the Prophet (sm.), where he delivered his addresses which contained the appeals for obedience to Allah and the regulations for the social life of the community; from here he controlled the Muslim Ummah; (cf. Bukhari, salat, bab 70, 71, Shorter Ency. of Islam, p. 331).

Masjid as a social centre of the Muslim Ummah is deep-rooted in the social fabric of the community of Islam. With the passage of time and lapse of power the Ummah witnessed a chequered phenomena of ups and downs, gales and galas but the well-strewn institution of mosque retained its pristine position at

least in an extant form from village unit to international level. There is no land on the earth of Allah wherein live a community of Islam without a mosque. Five-time a day the Call is pronounced in the name of Allah round the year from at least one million mosques all over the world. This is a unique system of an unparallel institution. For each nine hundred Muslims—man and woman, child and old—there is one mosque. Nine hundred million Muslims of the modern world are the heirs of this wonderful institution which may galvanize them again to rise up.

The First House :

The Ka'ba is the first house that was founded on earth, it is the Holy House and the Ancient House. Al-Qur'an says : "Certainly the first house built for men is the one at Bakkah, blessed and a guidance for the universe". (iii,95) "Allah has made the Ka'ba, the Sacred House, a means of support for the people ...", (v,97). "... and let them go round the Ancient House, (xxii, 29). Therein are benefits for you for a fixed term, then their place of sacrifice is the Ancient House", (xxii, 33). Prayer of Ibrahim in al-Qur'an is, "Qur Lord, I have settled a part of my offspring in a valley unproductive of fruit near Thy Sacred House, our Lord, that they may keep up prayer; so make the hearts of some people yearn towards them, and provide them with fruits, haply they may be grateful", (xiv,37). Bait Allah, Bait al-Haram, Bait al-'Atiq, Bait al-Muharram are the names of the Ka'ba mentioned in al-Qur'an. The status of this House is mentioned as Al-Masjid al-Haram. al-Qur'an says: "Glory to Him who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Mosque, whose precints We blessed, that We might show him of our signs, surely He is the Hearing, the Seeing", (xvii, 1).

It is evident from this that the Ka'ba is the first house on earth and Bakkah or Makkah is the place where it was built by Adam land Ibrahim rebuilt it under a Divine commandment. Makkah is thus the original home-land of mankind and the Ka'ba is the first house and first mosque for men. Regarding the foundation of the Ka'ba details may be found in al-Tabari, Ibn Hisham, Bukhari, Baidawi etc.

Ibrahim with the help of his son Isma'il rebuilt the Ka'ba and prescribed the pilgrimage to mankind at the behest of Allah. Al-Qur'an says: "And when we pointed to Ibrahim the place of the House, saying: Associate none with Me, and purify My House for those who make circuits and stand to pray and bow and prostrate themselves. And proclaim to men the Pilgrimage, they will come to thee on foot and on every lean camel, coming from every remote path". (xxii, 26, 27)

The Qibla :

The direction of the Ka'ba that has to be observed during the Salat, Adhan, Du'a, Ihlal, Ihram, Burial, and so on was appointed by our Prophet (sm.) as the same time as he instituted the Satal. In the period immediately following

the Hijra the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. In the second year of Hijra the Pilgrimage to Mecca was enjoined upon the believers and the Ka'ba was brought into prominence as a religious centre. During the first period of Hijra for about 16 or 17 months the Muslims turned towards Jerusalem at the Salat. But in Mecca the Prophet (sm.) used to have the-Ka'ba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the Salat (Ibn Hisham, p. 190, 228). After the Hijra in the month of Rajab or Sha'ban of the year 2, a great politico-religious change took place in the annals of Islam. The Prophet (sm.) was performing with a group of his companions Salat al-Zuhr in a mosque of the Banu Salima, after performing two raka'a at the behest of Allah he turned round to the direction of Ka'ba (Baidawi, on Sura ii, 144, p. 139). Because of this, the mosque received the name of Masjid al-Qiblatain, the mosque of two Qibla.

Th alteration in the Qibla from Jerusalem to the Ka'ba is an important phenomenon in the series of events which moulded the infra-structure of Islam. Al-Qur'an says: "The fools among the people will say: 'What has turned them from their Qiblah which they had?' Say: The East and West belong only to Allah; He guides whom He pleases to the right path. And thus we have made you an exalted nation that you may be the bearers of witness to the people and that the Messenger may be a bearer of witness to you. And We only appointed your previous Qiblah to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels. Verily this is a grievous sin from which he is free who is guided by Allah, but Allah will not allow your faith to be of no avail, for He is gracious and kindly to man. We see how thy face turns to all the quarters of the heavens so We will cause thee to turn to a Qiblah pleasing to thee. Turn then they face toward the Holy Mosque, turn your faces to it wherever you are. And those who have been given the book ce tainly know tha' it is the truth from their Lord. And Allah is not heedless of what they do". And even if you would bring to those who have been given the Book every sign they would not follow thy Qiblah, nor canst thou be a follower of their Qiblah, neither are they the followers of each other's Qiblah. And if thou shouldst follow their desires after the knowledge that has come to thee, then thou wouldst indeed be of the wrongdoers." (Sura ii, 142—145).

Until the conquest of Mecca by our Prophet in the year 8 A.H., there were 360 idols around the Ka'ba. Inspite of its being an idolatrous temple, the Ka'ba was made the Qiblah as well as the spiritual centre of the Muslims. This indicates that Mecca would be conquered by the Muslims and the Ka'ba would become an exclusively Muslim sanctuary. When in the year 10 A.H. our Prophet (sm.) himself led the pilgrimage, not a single idolator was present and since then the Ka'ba is the exclusively Muslim sanctuary and Mecca is their Holy city. The importance placed upon the change of the Qiblah is clear from the verses quoted above. The Qibla to the Ka'ba is that of Ibrahim (Tabari, Tafsir, i, 378; ii. 1280). 'If Ibrahim's seed was to be blessed in Isma'il's progeny, it was necessary that the new spiritual Centre should be the house pur ified by Ibrahim and Isma'il, the

First House appointed for men, the temple at Jerusalem being only the spiritual centre of the Israelites'. (The Holy Qur'an, Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, Sura ii., 142).

The observance of the Qiblah is given as a criterion of the Muslim along with performance of the Salat and ritual slaughter. (Bukhari, Salat, bab 28; cf. Adahi, bab 22). One the terms for the orthodox community is Ahl al-Qiblah wa al-Jama'a. In many Muslim lands the word Qiblah has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies. (cf. Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, pp. 260, 261).

Transcending the barrier of time and space, colour and language, the institution of Qiblah created a sense of unity and direction among the votaries of Islam. Every mosque on earth has its Qiblah to the Ka'ba. A Muslim, whether he be at home or abroad, when the time of Salat comes, the yearning of his soul pours forth in a brief but earnest supplication along with his millions of brethren all over the world. This bond of brotherhood embalmed in Islam is renewed with a devotional spirit, self-humiliation and reliance on the mercy of the Almighty five times a day facing the Ka'ba through the Qiblah.

Masjid :

In Mecca, the Muslims had no special place of worship. The Prophet (sm.) used to perform the Salat in secret in the narrow alleys of Mecca with his earliest companions, sometimes beside the Ka'ba, sometimes in his own house solitarily. To the Prophet (sm.) Bait Allah always remained the principal mosque out of which the Quraish drove him and his companions. It was his goal to conquer it. Al-Qura'n says: "They question thee with regard to warfare in the scared month. Say: Warfare therein is a great transgress, but to turn men from the way of Allah, and to disbelieve in Him and in the Inviolable place of worship, and to expel his people thence, is a greater with Allah; for persecution is worse than killing. And they will not cease from fighting against you till they made you renegades from your religion, if they can. And whose becometh a renegade and dieth in his disbelief: such are they whose works have fallen both in the world and the Hereafter. Such are rightful owners of the Fire: they will abide therein. (Sura ii, 217).

When in Madina he was able to do as he pleased, the Prophet (sm.) at once intended to build a mosque where he could be undisturbed in performing his prophetic duties. On his Hijra, the Prophet (sm.) founded the first mosque at Quba. On the spot where his camel stopped when he entered the town, the Prophet (sm.) built the mosque in Madina buying the ground from two orphans. Adjacent to it on the east side were little houses for the wives of the Prophet (sm.). The mosque was the courtyard of the Prophet's house and at the same time the meeting place for the believers and the place for common prayer.

It is inherent in the character of Islam, that religion and politics cannot be separated. The same person is the ruler as well as the religious leader, and the same building, the mosque, is the centre of gravity for both political and religious activities. This is evident from the fact that the mosque was always placed in the centre of the camp, while the abode of the ruler was built just near it. In this regard the Madina mosque was the model for the development of the general type of the mosques. In the early days of Islam, the mosque had hardly the character of a sacred edifice. Everyone was allowed to go freely about in it, tents and huts were put up there, disputes were settled, important discussion took place, justice administered, military mission despatched, lesson imparted and prayer offered. The Prophet (sm.) in his sovereign capacity was the leader and the Khatib of the Muslim community. From the Madina mosque he discharged his duties.

Mosque as a political centre :

In order to determine the place of mosque in the body-politic of Islam, one will have to discuss of its many aspects at least the Minbar, the Khatib, the Khutba besides the building. The mosque necessarily does not mean an edifice alone. It is a fact that the architectural development in the mosque edifice has its own history. In our present discourse, we have little scope to discuss this point.

Minbar : The word comes from the Arabic root n b r with the meaning "high". The Prophet (sm.) himself introduced this in the mosque of Madina in the year 7 A.H. It was in all practical purpose the seat, the chair or the throne of the Prophet (sm.) in his capacity as a ruler. He used it for the announcement of important declarations to the public as well as a seat of honour on which the ruler sits. In Usd al-Ghaba, Ibn al-Athir narrates a Hadith according to which the Prophet (sm.) was asked by his companions to take up a raised position at the time of meeting with the wufud and accordingly he sat on a kursi while addressing Tamim who came on a delegation to the Prophet (sm.) (*ibid.* i, pp. 43, 214, cf. Tabari, ii, 959, 1119, 1107, Becker, Islamstudien, i, 450). The raised seat was the mark specially of the ruler and the judge among the northern Semites while the Arabs used to sit on the ground. The use of the word Minbar for the pulpit derives from its history. The change was completed after Haroon al-Rashid when the ruler was no longer the Khatib and the Khutba became purely a divine service.

Ibn Sa'd quoted that the object of the Minbar of the Prophet (sm.) was to enable the large assembly to hear him (*ibid*, 1/i, 10, 11). In one of the traditions of the Prophet (sm.), Imam Bukhari narrates that he also took care in leading Salat so that the people could see him and follow him (*ibid*, Salat, bab 18, Jum' a, bab 26). The primary intention was, according to most of the traditions, in introducing Minbar in the mosque, Khutba. The Minbar of the Prophet (sm.) consisted of two steps and a seat which was retained during the time of Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman. In the 670/50, Amir Mu'awiya wanted to take it to Syria with him ; he was not allowed to do so but he raised it by six steps (cf. Short.

Encyl. Id. p. 344). It was indispensable for the sovereign at the time of making public speeches. The Umaiyads had their own minbars and Mu'awaiya on his journey to Mecca took it with him which remained there till the time of al-Rashid. In the year 170 or 174 A.H. when al-Rashid visited Mecca, the Governor of Egypt presented to him a minbar with nine steps and the old one was put up in 'Arafa. The Meccan minbar was a moveable one and during the Khutba was put beside the Ka'ba. This custom was in vogue until 926—974/1520—1566 when Sultan *Sulai-man I built a marble minbar north of the Maqam Ibrahim* (cf. *al-Rihala* al-Hija-ziya, p. 100 ; Chron. Mekka, i. 333, iii. 114, 426; Ibn Zubair, pp. 95, 97).

The minbar was the symbol of rule and it belonged to the Caliph alone and in the cities the governors sat on it as the representatives of the Caliph. In the beginning, the provincial governors were not allowed to put up minbars to raise themselves above the Muslims. 'Amr bin al-'As, the governor of Egypt, had a minbar for him in al-Fustat but 'Umar ordered him to take it away so that the Muslims would not sit below his heels. After the death of 'Umar, 'Amr used the minbar in al-Fustat. In the year 64/683-4 to pay homage to Marwan bin al-Hakam minbars were put up in al-Hijaz, Egypt, Syria, Jazira, Iraq, Khurasan and other cities (cf. Makrizi, iv. 6, 8, 27 sqq.; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 76, 78 sqq.; Suyuti, Husn al-Muhadara, i. 63 ; ii. 135 ; Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, viii. 307; S.E.I., pp. 343-4).

Until 132/749, in the smaller towns and villages the wali used to deliver the Khutba standing on the ground. The minbar was still a feature of the Masjid al-Jama'a where the community was officially addressed but after 132 A.H. every mosque in which the Firday prayer was conducted was given a minbar and henceforth the minbar became almost analogous to the Christian pulpit as the ruler was no longer the Khatib and the Khutba became morbid service of the spiritual preacher (cf. Makrizi, iv. 8, 17 sqq.; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 350 sqq.). With the passage of time, the minbar has turned to be a seat of lifeless ritual addresses and the importance it had in the time of the Prophet (sm.) has ceased to exist.

Khutba and Khatib :

The Khutba is an integral part of the congregational prayers such as Juma, two 'Ids and so on. The Khutba forms a constituent part of worship in Islam. During the time of the Prophet (sm.) and the right-going caliphs, the Khutba was prompted by the prevailing situation and circumstances. The fixed order of the Khutba on Friday and the days of 'Ids arose long after the time of our Prophet (sm.) (cf. Abu Dawud, K. al-Diyat, bab 13 ; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 56 sqq.; Muslim, 'Idain, 9, Jum'a, 54—60). An English writer observes : "As the office of the Khatib became a regular function, the Khutba became to the Khatib what a calligraphed document is to the professional scribe : the one displayed his art in flourished initials, the other in rhymed prose" (EI, p. 259).

The Khatib in Islam is synonymous with "leader". The Prophet was the Khatib of his Ummah and hence led the prayer, made speeches from the minbar, issued orders, made decisions, and pronounced his views on questions of general

interest and political issues. This was the condition under the four right-going caliphs and the Umayads. The provincial and local governors appointed by them were entrusted with the control of minbars and acting as Khutaba on their behalf. The Khatib in Islam assumed a special character for the close connection between the khutba and divine service (cf. Jahiz, i. 179, 190 ; al-Ya'kubi, ii. 318 ; al-Tabari, ii. 926).

The Friday salat is obligatory upon every free male Muslim who has reached years of discretion and salat al-jum'a can only be performed in the mosque while the daily salats in themselves may be performed anywhere. In order to express adherence to the community, performing daily salat in a mosque in a congregation is a meritorious act. A salat in a congregation is 25 times as meritorious as the salat of an individual at home or in his shop. "Those who perform salat in their abodes give up the path of their Prophet", such are the condemnations in the traditions (cf. Bukhari, salat, bab 52, 87; Muslim, masajid, 245, 257; Bukhari, Buyu, bab 49). In the early period of Islam, all elements of Muslim community used to assemble for salat al-jum'a in the chief mosque of the area. During the time of 'Umar, there was only one Masjid al-Jami' for the salat al-jum'a in every town. But in course of time with changing condtions, there arose a need for a number of mosques for the Friday prayer. The salat al-Jum'a had to be conducted by the ruler of the community and there was only one governor in each province while there were many mosques. For this reason, 'Amr b. al-'As in Egypt forbade the villagers to perform salat al-Jum'a in the villages (Makrizi, iv. 7). During the time of Marwan II in 132/749, minbar was introduced into the Egyptian village mosques and a village with a minbar was called Qarya Jami'a, (cf. Bukhari, Jum'a, bab 15 ; Makrizi, iv. p. 8). The governors were appointed 'ala al-salat wa al-harb and they had to conduct prayers especially the Friday prayer on which occasion they also delivered khutba and in the case of their absence, the chief of police used to perform their duties as their representative. This was changed by the 'Abbasides. Caliph Haroon al-Rashid left it to the Qadis to deliver the khutba as representative of the caliph. Gradually khutaba were appointed everywhere. The caliph no longer conducted the salats. The khatib and Imam now became an appointed one paid out of the bait al-mal. The khutba became quite stereotyped ritual address to the Muslims. Later on there were appointed in the large mosques a number of khutaba who used to relieve one another (cf. Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddima, 1322 Cairo, p. 173; Jahiz, i. 161; Makrizi, iv. 83). Thus the socio-politico-religious institution of Khatib waning bit by bit has become a taboo. The minbar and the khutba are now objects of religious reverence instead of being a source of eternal bliss and beatitude of both temporal and spiritual life. When the minbar is a pulpit, the khutba is a sermon and the khatib is an appointed employee, then the great institution of mosque established by the Prophet (sm.) as a nerve-centre of the Muslim Ummah has turned into magnificent memorial edifices where the votaries of Islam assemble for the divine services as the christians do in their churches, the Hindus in their temples and Jews in the synagogues.

The mosque as a court of Justice and seat of Public Administration :

In the Madina mosque, the Prophet (sm.) used to receive the foreign envoys, deliver judgement, settle legal questions, impart lessons, transact financial dealings, besides conducting prayers (cf. Bukhari, Ahkam, bab 19, 29 ; salat, bab 71 ; Khusumat, bab 4; Tabari, ii. 230 sqq.). This remained in vogue for a good deal of time. To deliver judgement was one of the primary duties of the caliph and in this regard he had his assistants as 'Umar was the Qadi of Abu Bakr. Judges were appointed by the caliph. They sat in judgement in the mosques. Qadi Shuraih, al-Sha'bi, Yahya b. Ya'mar and Marwan used to sit in judgement beside the minbar while Qadi al-Hasan and Zura'a b. Awfa sat on the open courtyard of the mosque. In 14/635, immediately after the building of the mosque in Basra, al-Aswad al-Tamimi was appointed Qadi therein. In 23/644, by order of 'Umar, 'Amr b. al-'As appointed Qais as a Judge in the mosque of al-Fustat. The judges were at liberty to hold sessions sometimes before their houses and sometimes in the mosques and non-Muslim citizens who had law suits were heard on the steps of the mosques or at the official residence of the judges. From the year 376/987 onwards, the post of Qadi al-Qudat was introduced, who sat on Tuesday and Saturday in the mosque and laid down the law. In every city like Baghdad, Damascus, the judges used to sit in the chief mosques (cf. Bukhari, Ahkam, bab 18; Husn al-Muhadara, ii. 86 ; Tabari, i. 2135; Baladhuri, p. 364 ; al-Kindi, Wulat, p. 300 ; Makrizi, ii. 246, iv. 16, 22 ; Bib. geo. ara., iii. 158 ; vii. 227, 245).

After the four right-going caliphs, the actual work of government was transferred from the mosque to the ruler's abode—dar al-imara—which was built immediately adjacent to the central mosque, as in Madina, al-Fustat, Damascus, Basra, Kufa and so on. But for long time the treasure-chest, the bait al-mal, was kept in the mosque and the director of finance used to sit in the mosque. The mosque was used for transacting financial business with the public (cf. Tabari, ii. 230 sqq.). In 97/715, Usama b. Zaid, the director of finance in al-Fustat, built in the mosque of 'Amr a kubba on pillars in front of the minbar for the bait al-mal of Egypt. In Kufa, Basra, Palestine, Damascus, in the chief mosque of each town, there was the similar arrangement as in the mosque of 'Amr in Egypt (cf. Makrizi, iv. 9, 11, 13; Tabari, i. 2483; Yaqut, iii. 899; Bib. geo. ara., iii. 157, 182).

The administration of the mosques rests in the hands of the ruler and the usual government offices can not directly control the mosque affairs as the mosque in Islam because of its special position has become an object *sui generis*. The caliph in his sovereign capacity as the Imam of the Muslim community had the mosques under his charge. The governors and walis as his representatives had the same charge in their respective provinces and localit'es. Later on the Qadis were entrust.d in many cases with the management of the mosque affairs.

Fr m the very beginning it was customary in the polity of Islam that the caliph and his governors made their formal entry into office by assending the minbar and deliverin a khutba; this was the symbol of authority. But after

the caliphate because of the special position of the mosques especially those of Mecca and Madina, the rulers and their governors evinced interest in building and renovating them. Under the Muslim empire, the Qadis gradually obtained authority in the management of endowments. In 118/736 Tawba b. Namir al-Hadrami, the Qadi in the Tulunid mosque, brought about the centralisation of all endowments hitherto administered by the heirs of the testators. In 363/973, al-Mu'izz instituted a special bait al-mal and the diwan al-birr wa al-sadaqa for the management of the mosques and the chief Qadi was made head of this system. Thus the mosques were administered by the Qadis, directly under the caliph. But after the fall of Muslim power, the mosques are left in a dishevelled state to the mutawallies (cf. Khalil al-Zahiri, Zubdat kashf al-mamalik, p. 109, 115; Makrizi, iv. 21 83 sqq.; Kindi, Wulat, p. 346, 469, 589, 587, 585).

By and by the court of justice and seat of administration were shifted from the mosque. The Imam of a mosque is no longer a judge nor a director of finance nor an administrator. His sermons are revered as divine service and opinions are sought on religious matters. This shifting paved the ground for secular concept in the Islamic polity.

The mosque as a centre of education :

The greatest teacher the world has ever seen is the Prophet of Islam. The Prophet (sm.) not only inculcated the necessity and value of knowledge but also urged upon cultivation of the scientific spirit of reasoning. He says: Should the day come wherein I increase not in knowledge wherewith to draw nearer to Allah, let the dawn of that day be accursed.

Al-Qur'an is the first Book in which mankind is exhorted to attain perfection by acquiring knowledge through reading and writing. It is amazing to note that the Prophet sl. who preached this message was himself unacquainted with writing and reading and th art of writing was a rare novelty in the then Arabia as there was hardly any institution for this purpose.

The mosque was the university of Islam in the great days, and it deserved the name of university since it welcomed to its precincts all the knowledge of the age and attracted scholars from every quarter. After the migration to al-Madina, the Prophet (sm.), to impart lessons to the companions, used to teach at al-Suffa, a place close to his mosque. Al-Qur'an says: Allah verily has shown grace to the believers by sending unto them a messenger of their own who recites unto them His revelations, and purifys them, and teaches them the Book and the wisdom, although before that they were in flagrant error (Surah iii. 164).

In fact, al-Suffa was the first regular school of Islam. The Prophet (sm.) introduced two kinds of instruction : (i) occasional instruction for the representatives of the Muslims who came to pay visit to him from the different parts of Arabia ; and (ii) regular instruction for the enthusiastic learners of al-Suffa, who, keeping aloof from all worldly affairs, devoted their lives to acquire knowledge

under him and the teachers appointed by him from among his companions. Apart from Qur'an, Sunnah, Fiqh, Faraid and Tibb, the physical education, military training and language teaching had been an integral part of syllabi. It may be mentioned here that Zaid b. Thabit who held the position of secretary of the Prophet (sm.) was conversant with the Persian, the Greek, the Hebrew and the Ethiopian besides Arabic (cf. Tabari, i. 1737; Suyuti, Jam'ul Jawami; Kattani, i. 202; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farid; Mu'jam al-Buldan, v. 375; Ibn al-Jauzi, Sirat Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz). A day in a week was set apart for giving instruction to women. At the completion of the course, the learners were called al-Qurra. Their highest distinction was al-tafaqquh fi al-din.

After his death, the companions of the Prophet (sm.) followed the same practice. In the Madina mosque, Hadrat 'Ayesha, 'Abdull h b. 'Umar and Zaid b. Thabit used to teach; in the mosque at Mecca. 'Abdullah b. 'Abbas taught lessons. With the expansion of Islam, mosques were built in very important place and city and classes were opened in them. In the mosque of Kufa, 'Abdullah b. Mas'ud used to teach while in the mosque of Basra Abu Musa Ash'ari and in the mosque of Damascus Abu Darda imparted lessons to the Muslims. 32 companions of the Prophet (sm.), one after another, used to teach in the mosque of Aleppo.

The system of education in the mosque, inaugurated by the Prophet (sm.) and expanded by his companions, brought about spectacular results in solving the colossal problems of adult education with which Islam was confronted at its inception. This magnificent mosque-based-education was organized on a purely voluntary basis and given entirely free. Wherever a new institution was needed, a new mosque was built. Separate institutions for higher studies called Madrasahs did not come into being until 350 A. H. In many mosques there were halls and annexes to provide accommodation for classes as well as residence for students and teachers. The big mosque in a large city which had invariably a big college attached to it is the Jami', from which the term Jami'a has later been derived as the name for a University (cf. Islamic Education Series, Aims and objectives, p. 98-103; Journal Rabetat al-Alam al-Islami, No. 6, vol. 4, April 1977, p. 20 sqq.; Ibn al-Jauzi, op. cit.; Mu'jam al-Buldan, v. p. 375). Even after the emergence of separate institution in the name of Madrasah, in many cases the mosques were used for the purpose of education. Moreover, every great mosque had a full-fledged Madrasah attached to it. A chapel and library were necessary components and residential arrangements for students and teachers were a distinctive feature of these mosque-madrasahs, which were thus precursors of the residential colleges of the British Universities. So, in the hey-days of Islam, mosque was its University.

Conclusion and suggestions :

In Islam, worship includes both physical and spiritual performances; it embraces all aspects of life: faith, thought, feeling and work. As a result of this,

a great civilization was born which brought peace and prosperity to the world. For more than eight centuries, it was the major source of man's spiritual, intellectual, moral and temporal advancement. It provided for the East and the West moral and intellectual sustenance and ideas for material progress. But after having lost the political leadership, the Muslims seem to have lost almost all their creative incentive. The moorings of many of their time-honoured institutions, which paved the path of modern civilization, are adrift amidst inertia and confusion. On the contrary, the West made remarkable progress during the last two centuries in the material and intellectual spheres, which dazzled the Muslims to imitate blindly. As a result of this blind imitation, a dichotomy—a wide gulf between belief and practice—is seen today throughout the Muslim world. The revival of pristine spirit of Islam depends upon the resolution of this dichotomy: the yawning gulf between the secular and the religious tendencies which created an unfortunate cleavage in the Muslim society.

The wisdom which incorporated into Islam the splendid institution of mosque, has breathed into the religion of Islam a brotherhood of faith transcending the barriers of time and space, colour and language. 'The eyes of the whole Muslim world fixed on that central spot—Ka'ba, keep alive in the bosom of each some spark of the celestial fire which lighted up the earth in that century of darkness' (Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 171). More than one million mosques on the earth linked up with that central spot can again galvanize the Ummah if properly organized setting on right track. With the dawn of 15th century Hijra, let there usher in an era of reawakening centring the Ka'ba.

In the present hostile world, the Islamic solidarity is the only hope to redeem humanity from the anguish of total annihilation. The establishment of the General Secretariat of the Organisation of Islamic Conference is, no doubt, a bold step towards pan-Islamic unity and solidarity. In order to achieve active cohesion and co-operation, the Muslim Ummah should establish a Ka'ba based international mosque organisation like Islamic Conference. All member states of the Islamic Conference should form the constituent part of this world body. A system may be devised for the minority Muslim countries. All the mosques on earth are to be organized under the care of this body. Particular attempts may be made to make khutba meaningful and understandable to the listeners. Steps should be taken to revive the pristine position of khatib. Head of the state or his representative be the khatib at the weekly Friday prayer in the chief mosque of the city. In delivering khutba, sectarian views must be carefully avoided. For training up the khatib, muadhdhin and muballigh, a permanent institute be set up. Mosque-madrasah be opened. Administration of the mosque from village unit to city level will be run by the state-mosque-body. The head of the state will be the chief of this body. All the auqaf estates and properties will be vested in this body. International, national and local conferences may be held. Mosque-based welfare centre should be opened in each mosque.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Al-Qur'an.
2. The Glorious Kur'an, 'Abdullah Yusuf Ali.
3. Holy Kur'an, Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall.
4. The Holy Qur'an, Maulana Muhammad Ali.
5. Baidawi.
6. Zamakhshari.
7. Ibn Kathir.
8. Bukhari.
9. Muslim.
10. Tirmidhi.
11. Abu Dawud.
12. Ahmad b. Hanbal.
13. Tabari.
14. Ibn al-Athir.
15. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.
16. Ibn Taghribirdi.
17. Ibn Zubair.
18. Ibn Khaldun.
19. Jahiz.
20. Makrizi.
21. Al-Yakubi.
22. Ibn al-Jauzi.
23. Yaqut.
24. Kattani.
25. Baladhuri.
26. Kindi. Wulat.
27. Khalil al-Zahiri.
28. Suyuti, Husn al-Muhadara, Jam'ul Jawami'.
29. Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam.
30. Becker, Islamstudien.
31. W. W. Hunter, Our Indian Musalmans.
32. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum.
33. Islamic Education Series, First World Conference on Muslim Education.
34. Journal Rabetat 'Alam al-Islami, No. 6, vol. 4, April 1977.
35. Buhuth Mu'tamar Risalat al-Masajid, Mecca.
36. Chronicle Mekka.
37. Encyclopaedia of Islam.

THE STATUS OF MINORITIES IN ISLAM

Rights of minorities has remained one of the most perplexing dilemmas of human civilization since the dawn of history. In spite of widespread education, enlightenment, and constitutional guarantees which are written practically in every constitution of the world, ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural minorities, are still not free from harassment, discrimination and persecution. Race riots, in many countries, are a permanent feature of the political and social life of the people. It is for this reason that treatment of minorities is such a critical dimension of international diplomacy, and nearly every document that has been compiled in recent history contains special provisions for people who are permanently living in societies where they are discriminated because they differ in race and religion from the majority.

The history of Muslim civilization was not free from this dilemma, but under the principles laid down in the Holy Quran and guidance provided by the Holy Prophet, it was handled with maximum Judiciousness. Islamic history is not contaminated with Inquisitions, which have left such an indelible blemish on the Christian civilization. Non-Muslims living under Muslim rule were treated with great tolerance and many of them rose to highest positions in state and made tremendous contributions to the growth and development of Islamic civilization. Whatever restrictions existed in theory, were often replaced in practice. Their relationship with the majority community was not a secular treaty but a religious covenant, and the only time, violence or repression took place against them, was when they were alleged to have broken the terms of the covenant.[1] Sometimes there would be popular protest against non-Muslim minorities if the Muslims felt that all the positions of power and prestige in the Muslim kingdom were being monopolised by them or that they were spying on behalf of the enemies of Islam. But in spite of all this, minorities under Islam were accorded complete freedom in their religious and personal affairs. Karl Weintraub, while commenting on Voltaires understanding of Islam says, "Islam moreover was tolerant. The Arabs and Turks were among the world's mildest conquerors. The sultans permit Christian churches in their lands ; what Christian ruler tolerates mosques on his soil ?".[2]

In Islamic literature there is a vast body of material in which detailed principles have been laid down regarding the treatment of minorities.[3] Compendiums of

[1]Bernard Lewis (Ed.), *Islam : From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople, Vol. II*, New York, Harper & Row, 1974, p. 217.

[2]Karl J. Weintraub, *Visions of Culture*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1969, p. 59.

[3]Marshall Hodgson says, " A third principle formed the basis of the relation of the community to non-adherents. It was the mission of the community to bring God's true ways into all the world; hence the rules of the Muslim community should be extended over all the infidels. As in Medina, however, these latter, were allowed to continue in their own religious allegiance, as dhimmis, protected subjects so long as their worship was not too blantantly inconsistent with the public recognition of God's unity, and so long as they submitted to Muslim control of general affairs. Thus only those who had personally undertaken the obligations of Islam were expected to live the Muslim way, but only they were allowed to bear responsibility for society at large." *The Venture of Islam, Vol. I*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1974, p. 322.

Hadith, and books on Muslim jurisprudence are replete with discussions on the subject but the primary source of guidance as in all other matters, still remains the Quran. The most important minority to which the Holy Book has made repeated references, of course, are the People of the Book or the People of the Scripture. They are generally listed in the commentaries as Jews and Christians, who had been given the revealed word of God, but according to the Quran, they had so mutilated the original message of their Prophets, that many of their beliefs, rituals and practices were heretical and totally sacrilegious. Jewish and Christian colonies were sprinkled over the whole of Arabia, and since the Quran had completely ruled out compulsion in matters of religion, it was essential to lay down certain clear and fully articulated principles so that the believers of the new faith and non-Muslims of different faith could live with understanding and in an atmosphere of harmony and cordiality. They were expected to enter into contracts which would give the contracting parties enough legal and moral elbow-room to respect each other's religious sensitivities.

The Quran says :

> Say : O People of the Scripture, Come to an
> agreement between us and you :
> that we shall worship none but Allah
> and that we shall ascribe no partner
> unto Him, and that none of us shall
> take others for lords beside Allah.[1]

Another passage of the Holy Book says that muslims Must show indulgence to the minorities, even if they try to change your belief into disbelief.

> Many of the People of the Scripture long to make
> you disbelievers after your belief, through envy
> on heir own account, after the truth has become
> manifest unto them. Forgive and be indulgent
> (towards them) until Allah give command. Lo
> Allah is able to do all things.[2]

Muslims are dissuaded from entering into arguments with non-Muslims unless it becomes absolutely essential. A passage from the Quran on this point reads as follows :

> And argue not with the People of the Scripture unless it be in (a way) that is better, save with such of them as do wrong, and say, We believe in that which has been revealed unto us and revealed unto you, Our God and Your God is one, and unto Him we surrender.[3]

---

[1]*The Quran*, III : 64 (Al-Imran).

[2]*The Quran*, II : 109 (Al-Bakr).

[3]*Ibid*, XXIX : 46 (Al-Ankabat).

There is also a passage in the Quran in which the Muslims have been en upon to fight those disbelievers who have no faith in God, and the day of . ment and show distrust of the truth embodied in the message of the Holy Pr Th.y are spared, however, if they pay some kind of tribute to the Muslim tre The spirit of the Quranic law was amply manifested in all the political and matic transactions of the Holy Prophet. The most authentic testimony is Constitution of Medina" which is an instrument of instruction for policy-n in a Muslim kingdom. Article 16 of this document states, "The Jews who us shall have aid and equality, except those who do wrong or aid the enem the Muslims". Article 37 says, "The Jews shall bear their expenses an Muslims shall bear theirs, and they shall render mutual aid to whoever against the people of .his document. There shall be mutual advice and cor tion, and honourable behaviour without treachery."[1] In the later histo Islam monarchs and statesmen continued to abide with the liberal guic enunciated in the Quran and practiced by the Holy Prophet.

Abu Yusuf and Baladhuri, two leading scholars of Islamic history mentioned several treaties which the Holy Prophet made with the non-M tribes of Tabala, Jarash, Adhruh, Maqna, Khaybar, Najran and Ayla, in he gave them positive assurance about the protection of their life and prc in return for *Jizya*.[2] During the caliphate of Hazrat Umar I, the tremer expansion of Islam necessitated more detailed covenants and treaties with C tians and other religious minorities. After accepting one of the treaties his commanders, Hazrat Umar I made the following remarks :

> You may therefore impose on them (the dhimmis) the *Jizya*, never tc them as prisoners, nor to do any injustice or harm to them or to tak of their property unless you have a claim to it. You must fulfi obligations you accepted in accordance with your agreement them.[3]

It is said that Khalid b. Walid in a treaty with the conquered peop Damascus, laid down the following privileges for them :

> "This is what Khalid b. Walid gave to the inhabitants of Damascus has given them security of their persons, property, churches, an wall of their city. None of their houses shall be destroyed or fiscated. On these terms they have alliance with God, and the tection of His Prophet, the caliphs and believers. Nothing but shall befall them if they pay tribute."[4]

---

[1]cf. John Alden Williams, (Ed.) *Themes of Islamic Civilization*, Berkeley, Univer California Press, 1971, pp. 13-14.

[2]Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore, The Johns H Press, 1955, p. 179.

[3]cf. *Ibid*, p. 186.

[4]A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, Oxford Uni Press, 1930, p. 9.

Sir T. W. Arnold in his book, The Preachings of Islam, has tried to pr at length that the charges levelled against Muslim rulers that they forced tl non-Muslim subjects to be converted to Islam are entirely baseless. Such a co of action would have been entirely against the principles of the Quran wh in unmistakable terms has said, "There is no compulsion in religion."[1]

Sir Arnold described Islam's tolerance towards other religions in the follow words :

> From the examples given above of the toleration extended towards Christian Arabs by the victorious Muslims of the first century o Hijrah and continued by succeeding generations, we may surely i that those Christian tribes that did embrace Islam did so of their c choice and free will. When the Muslim army reached the valley Jordan and Abu Ubaydah pitched his camp at Fihl, the Christian habitants of the country wrote to the Arabs saying 'O Muslims, prefer you to the Byzantines though they are of our own faith, beca you keep better faith with us and are more merciful to us and ref from doing us injustice and your rule over us is better than theirs, they have robbed us of our goods and our homes.[2]

Immediately after the conquest of Syria and Persia, the Muslims did make any radical change in the administration. Arabic was used as a langu for official records only during the reign of Abdul Malik. Sarjun was secret of Muawiyya and he was succeeded by his son Mansur in the same position, a administration was never free from Christian employees. Under Yazid, a Ch tian by the name of Theodosius was prefect of Alexandria, a position which second only to the Arab Commander.[3] Under Abu Jaffar Mansur, the foun of the Abbaside dynasty, Musa, a Jew, was one of the two collectors of revenues the state.[4] Occasionally a caliph like Mutawakkil (متوکل) or Prime Mini like Nizam-ul-Mulk (نظام الملک) would be alarmed at the large scale infiltratio non-Muslims in government offices, and they would adopt remedial measures dismissals and demotions, but the Muslim administration provides ample te mony that seldom there was an administration in a Muslim kingdom which w entirely free from minorities. Particularly, professions like medicine were of dominated by Jews and Christians, and they were paid handsome salaries by state. Even Mutawakkil, who is known to be intolerant, could not dispense w the services of non-Muslim doctors. Bukhtishu b Jibrail, his doctor was held great esteem by him and was paid a very high salary.[5]

---

[1]The Quran.

[2]Sir T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 55.

[3]A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, Oxford Univers Press, 1930, p. 20-21.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 22.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 158.

As mentioned earlier, in some cases the theoretical restrictions were further relaxed by individual rulers and allowed competent minority leaders to occupy positions of authority which in normal circumstances they would have been disallowed to hold.

The status of non-Muslims, however, was not uniform in every Muslim kingdom. It often varied from country to country and sometimes from one ruler to another in the same dynasty. There were instances of severity, as were instances of extraordinary liberalism, but on the whole, compared to other civilizations, the record of Islam shows more tolerance, better understanding and greater humanitarianism on the eternally difficult issue of minorities. The general trend of Islamic thinking, was embodied in Imam Al Shafiis' kitab al Umm.[1] The learned jurist wrote a model document, which in his opinion would contain rights and obligations of Minorities in a muslim state. In his opinion minorities which have been accorded the status of dhimmis need to be protected by a covenant in which the ruler and the muslim community as a whole undertake a responsibility to provide them aman (safe-conduct). In return minority communities are expected, according to al-Shafii, to fulfil the following conditions.

1. To accept the authority of Islam and abstain from recognising any other authority which is contrary to it.

2. Any conscious disrespect to the Prophet, the Quran, and its Message would mean forfeiture of the status of dhimma (protection).[2]

Along with the above-mentioned fundamental conditions, the great jurist laid down a general behavioural pattern for non-Muslims, in their social interaction with the Muslims. For instance they are forbidden to sell to a Muslim, things like wine, pig and such other articles which Muslims are not allowed to possess by law. For all other crimes, they are subject to punishment like the rest of the citizens. In return for the compliance of the above-mentioned provisions non-muslims would have the following privileges. Imam Shafii says :

> " We shall not supervise transactions between you and your coreligionists or other believers nor inquire into them as long as you are content. If the buyer or the seller among you desires the annulment of a sale and comes to us to ask for this, we shall annul it or uphold it in accordance with the provisions of our law. But if payment has been made and the purchase consumed, we shall not order restitutions, for this would count as a completed sale between polytheists. If one of you or any other unbeliever applies to us for judgement, we shall adjudicate according to the law of Islam. But if he does not come to us, we shall not intervene among you."[3]

1

[2] Bernard Lewis (Ed.), Vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 219.
[3] cf. Bernard Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

For a long time it has remained one of the major preoccupations of the leading western orientalists to malign Islam for instituting certain serious restrictions and restraints on the activities of non-Muslims in a Muslim state. Much of it, however, seems to stem out of either prejudice or misunderstanding. First, it is unfair to judge principles evolved fourteen hundred years ago in the light of contemporary notions, but more than that the Quran and the Traditions of the Holy Prophet laid down specific guidelines and if their spirit had been implemented by later Muslim rulers, the alleged injustices to which non-Muslim scholars often refer would not have been committed. In other words the original principles had enough moral strength that with legitimate *ijtihad* and proper *ijma*, they would have remained beneficent to minorities throughout the Islamic history. Second, unfortunately Islamic history was continuously tormented with wars, internecine feuds, and chronic civil disturbances, and in these circumstances, minorities generally used to become a cause for suspicion, and rulers were constrained to put additional restrictions over and above the ones enjoined upon them by the religious doctrine itself.[1] Even in modern times, when civil and human rights are conferred on all citizens irrespective of race, colour and nationality and most of them are justiceable, nations in times of crises, particularly during war, suspend those rights for certain minorities who, they fear, could be contacted by the enemy for information. During World War II thousands of American citizens of Japanese descent were interned in military camps.[2]

A careful examination of Muslim law would show that legal disabilities from which non-Muslims suffered in an Islamic state were minor, and in most cases Muslims and non-Mulims were treated equally before law. For instance Christians and Jews could not inherit from a Muslim, but the same restriction applied to the Muslims who too were debarred from inheriting anything from Jews and Christians. The haduds (penalties) for offences like fornication, slanderous accusation of fornication, drinking of alcoholic beverages, theft, robbery, apostasy, and sedition were the same for all citizens. In fact non-Muslims were better off in some respects because they were not punished for drinking unless any one of them was found drunk publicly. Linant De Bellefonds says :

> In such circumstances, the principle was that the litigants, whatever their religion, must be treated on a footing of strict equality, and their claims judged according to the provisions of Muslim law, which alone was applicable to the case, in exactly the same way as if the litigants had been Muslims. The few exceptions to this basic principle, which will be glanced at shortly, must not cause the principle itself to be obscured ; it seems, even in the distant past, to have been respected not only in theory, but also in practical matters of daily life.[3]

[1] A. S. Tritton says that, "Abul Kasim said that eight deeds made a dhimmi an outlaw. They are an agreement to fight the Muslims, fornication with a Muslim woman, an attempt to marry one, an attempt to pervert a Muslim from his religion, robbery of a Muslim on a highway acting as a spy for unbelievers or sending them information, or acting as guide to them, and the, killing of a Muslim man or woman." *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim subjects*, London, Oxford University Press, 1930, p. 16.

[2].

[3] Y. Linant De Bellefonds, "Law" in *Religion in the Middle East (Islam)*, Edited by A. J. Arberry, Cambridge University Press, 1969, pp. 416-417.

The matter which has been a source of unending controversy, and western writers have criticized Islam tirelessly for it, is *Jazia* or poll tax which only non-Muslim population had to pay to the Muslim treasury. As seen earlier the tax has been mentioned in the Quran, and it was universally collected from non-believers in every Muslim kingdom. Western writers have labelled it as a gross discrimination and flagrant violation of fundamental human rights. Such an estimate however, does not represent the spirit of the Quranic provisions, nor does it fully indicate the rigours of the tax or the numerous benefits which it conferred on minorities. According to strict principles of the doctrine all Muslims are subject to being drafted in the military at any time in defence of the faith. The payment of poll tax granted the minorities exemption from this very arduous and costly responsibility, and also every Muslim government was under a religious obligation to defend the life and property of the non-muslims once they had paid this tax. Moreover, the amount they were asked to pay was very nominal, and in many cases this was the only tax they paid to the state. Children, slaves, people of unsound mind were exempted and historians have also recorded instances where women and old men were also not asked to pay this tax. Imam Abu Yusuf, in his Kitab al-Kharaj, has quoted a letter which Hazrat Umar wrote to Abu Ubayada. It stated, " Leave these lands which God has granted you as booty in the hands of their inhabitants and impose on them a poll tax (Jizya) to the extent they can bear and divide the proceeds among the Muslims. Let them till the soil, for they know more about it and are better at it than we are. Neither you nor the Muslims who are with you should treat the unbelievers as booty and share them out, because of the peace established between you and them and because you take poll tax from them. If you take the poll tax from them you have no claim on them or rights over them—and do not enslave them and do not let the Muslims oppress them or harm them or devour their property except as permitted, but faithfully observe the conditions which you have accorded to them and all that you have allowed to them."[1]

Principles evolved in the Quran and precedents set by the Prophet and the Pious Caliphate were later integrated by Jurists as permanent characteristics of the Muslim law and politics. Imam al Shafii said, "Every free adult male of sound mind among you shall have to pay a poll tax (Jizya) of one dinar, in good coin, at the beginning of each year. He shall not be able to leave his city until he pays his poll tax or appoints someone to pay it on his behalf, with further liability until the beginning of the year or you are subject to no taxes on your money other than the poll tax as long as you stay in your country for travel around the lands of the Muslims otherwise than as a merchant—your children under age, boys below puberty, persons of unsound mind, and slaves are not liable for the poll tax."[2] In other words the poll tax which, as described by some of the western commentators of Islam, conjures up an onerous spectacle of misery and discrimination against minorities, was, in fact, a very sensible arrangement to accommo-

[1] cf. Bernard Lewis. *op. cit.* pp. 224.
[2] cf. Bernard Lewis. *op. cit.* pp. 222.

date the clashing majority and minority interests in the population. Most Muslim and non-Muslim accounts agree that tolerance was one of the cardinal features of the Islamic civilization at the height of its political strength and material prosperity. Except for the nominal disabilities people of all races, religions and nationalities lived in a spacious and accommodating atmosphere of understanding and respect for each others faith. Without this harmony and fraternity, Muslim civilization would not have been able to achieve the pinnacle of its enduring glory. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the advancement of the literary and the scientific activities of the Muslim empire, monorities played a very important role. Had they been aggrieved or dissatisfied they would not have participated in the cultural activities so wholeheartedly. Bernard Lewis commenting on the tolerance in a Muslim kingdom says, "From this diversity of Islamic society arises a second feature, particularly striking to the European observer—its comparative tolerance. Unlike his Western contemporaries, the mediavel Muslim rarely felt the need to impose his faith by force on all who were subject to his rule. Like them, he knew well enough that in due time those who believed differently would burn in Hell. Unlike them, he saw no point in anticipating the divine judgement in this world. At most times he was content to be of the dominant faith in a society of many faiths. He imposed on the others certain social and legal disabilities in token of his primacy, and gave them an effective reminder if ever they seemed disposed to forget. Otherwise he left them their religious, economic, and intellectual freedom, and the opporunity to make a notable contribution to his own civilization.[1]

It is said that the Muslim rulers were intolerant towards the construction of new churches and monastaries. A. S. Tritton, however, concludes that rulers like Mutawakkil would sometime issue orders for the demolition of the newly-built church, but he is skeptical if such orders were really enforced. He says Mamun allowed some of his chamberlains to restore the church of the Virgin at al Kantara and two of his attendants got permission to build a new one on Mount Mukattam.[2] Treatment given to the minorities in this matter used to vary from one ruler to another, and the political conditions at particular time also acted as a major determinant. One thing is evident that the government kept a strict watch on the working of the churches and the activities of the priests, but the freedoms granted by the Sacred Law were seldom curtailed. Many non-Muslim historians have tried to depict the behaviour of the Islamic rulers in lurid color. But more often than not they quote instances from the reigns of rulers who were despotic and tyrannical even towards their Muslim subjects. A.S. Tritton who at places in his book is highly critical about the conduct of Muslim rulers towards dhimmis has made the following remarks.

[1]Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1964, p. 140. Grunebaum has made these remarks in this matter.

"The social order of the Islamic world accommodated non-Muslims as well as Muslims. Both groups lived under the same basic conditions, and the eagerness to assert rank and power affected the Jews and the Christians as it did the Muslims—the yardstick of social success, the mechanisms of social advancement or decline, appear to have been the same everywhere within the dar-al-Islam— The three great religious groups evinced the same attitude toward power and government." *Medieval Islam : A Study in Cultural Orientation*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 173.

[2]A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*, London, Oxford University Press, 1930, p. 48.

It is only fair to say that the conduct of the rulers was oftern better than the law demanded. Places of worship were built in purely Arab towns, Christians, guilty of misconduct with Muslim women, were only fined instead of being put to death, men of various faiths studied under Muslim masters. Jews and Christians were always to be found in public service, indeed they sometimes held the highest posts.[1]

The history of Islam provides ample evidence that, except for small periods when minorities were persecuted, the overall principle of tolerance and kindness towards non-muslims, remained the most important aspect of Muslim polity. Albert Hourani is of the opinion that Nestorians Monophysites were living under better conditions in a Muslim kingdom than in the orthodox Christian Byzantium. In fact rulers were more intolerant to the heretical sects within Islam than to Christians or Jews. Living amid a vast majority of Muslims they could not refrain from imbibing certain Islamic influences, but this was the result of their own choice. In popular ethics and social life they were somewhat Islamized, but there was no coercion involved in it. This was particularly true with regard to the copts in Egypt. A Tradition of the Holy Prophet says :

Whoever wrongs one with whom a contract has been made (*i.e.* a dhimmi) and lays on him a burden beyond his strengh, I will be his accuser.[2]

Ahd-al-Dhimmah is generallv defined as a "Contract of Protection". According to Lichtenstadter this does not merely connote protection, nor does it mean tolerance alone, because both meanings have undertones of condenscension and negativism.[3] The term makes positive acknowledgement of the rights of minorities living permanently in a Muslim state. The Ahd was a blueprint of their status and legal rights and they were always distinguished from foreigners who could only enter the country under an *aman* which ment a kind of temporary visa. The Contract which resulted from the "Treaty of Umar I" with the Christians and Jews of Jerusalem, in other words integrates in a concrete and systematic form the precepts which had been laid down in th: Quran and were put into practice by the Holy Prophet. Lichtenstadter says, "*To evaluate the institution of Khimmah* only by its negative components, is to distort its true import. It is far more essential to realize that it leaves the communal life of the non-Muslims intact, upholds their religious freedom, guarantees them security for their persons and property and protects them from criminal and illegal attack. [4] If in Islamic history we come across times when minorities were maltreated, it was always for material and political reasons and not due to religious factors. It is commonly observed that minorities, for their self-defence have a tendency to be aggressive and they tend to control centers of decision-making so that they can defend their rights. Mino-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[2] cf. Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam,* Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 175.

[3] Ilse Lichtenstadter, *Islam and the Modern Age*, New York, Bookman Associates, 1958, p. 90.

[4] Ilse Lichtenstadter, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

rities in the Muslim kingdom also suffered from this weakness. Many of their representatives occupied high positions in the government, and they tended to outdistance the Muslims in trade and commerce. This used to be a source of jealousy and bitterness which would occasionally manifest itself in outbursts of violence, or some serious discrimination, in law and social interaction between Muslims and non-muslims. [1] But in general, the status of minorities in the Muslim empire was much better than in any other part of the world at that time.

Shafik Ghorbal says :

> It should be borne in mind, in the second place, that there continued to exist within the Islamic society churches, monastries, synagogues, and temples serving Christians, Jews, Zorastarians and others, that all these survived, not as ghost communities or depressed classes, but as communities of living men and women who pursued their callings, professed their faith openly, and entered into polemics in defence of it, who continued to develop their religious, philosophical and scientific legacies, and who were at all times in communication with their Muslim neighbours.[2]

In the recent history of Islam the most sterling example of religious tolerance is the Millet system of the Ottoman empire. The millets were entitled to choose their own local and central officials. They were, however, expected to have the Sultan's approval, before the nominees could assume their official responsibilities. Each millet had its representative stationed at the capital where he had a right to the audience of the Sultan and acted as an ambassador of his community before the Sublime Porte. H. Luke has described the working of the Millet system in the following words.

> The autonomy of the millets was based on ancient custom which was reinforced in the nineteenth century by specific edicts—Their government was conducted by the head of the millet, generally assisted by a council composed of clerical and lay members. The millets were autonomous in spiritual and in certain administrative and judicial matters. Their jurisdiction embraced in the religious sphere, clerical discipline, in the administrative sphere, the control of their properties including cemeteries, education and churches, in the judicial sphere, marriage, dowries, divorce, and alimony, civil rights and in some millets, testamentary disposition. Sentences pronounced by the courts of the millets, if within their competence were executed on their behalf by the State.[3]

---

[1] H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, Pt. II, London, Oxford University Press, p. 208.

[2] Shafik Ghorbal, "Ideas and Movements in Islamic History" in *Islam : The Straight Path*, Edited by Kenneth Morgan, New York, Ronald Press, 1958, p. 62.

[3] H. Luke, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London, MacMillan & Co., 1936, pp. 97-98,

The millet system gave Christian and Jewish minorities tremendous advantages in social and economic life of the empire. It helped them to maintain their communal identity and strengthened their social status. Christians and Jews played a very decisive role in the commercial and financial life of the empire. For instance for a long time the entire financial activities in Egypt were dominated by the Copts.[1] Most historians of the Ottoman empire agree that the religious minorities had much more freedom under the Sharia law, which had been futher liberalized by edicts of the Sultan or the administrative decisions of the Sublime Porte. Outside the government circles also, the general climate of the society was one of tolerance and accommodation. Although the rules of the millets segregated the population for civil and religious laws, but socially communities used to fraternalize freely.

Countless instances can be listed which show how generous and liberal the Ottoman Sultans were towards their religious minorities. Sultan Mohammad the Conqueror, after the conquest of Constantiniple in 1453 made the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church the sole arbitrator of the affairs of his community. He was given the official status with the rank of a Pasha. He was allowed to organize his court and in the Phanar quarter of the city he ran his own prison. The records show that the Patriarch had the maximum civil jurisdiction over the members of his church. The Chief Rabbi of the Jews was also installed with similar powers and privileges. In official hierarchy he came next to the Shakh-al Islam. The position of the Jews economically and politically improved so fast in the empire, that their migration form the Chirstian lands to the Muslim kingdom remained a regular feature for a long time.[2]

Gibb and Bowen have described exemptions accorded to the non-muslim subjects from Jazia in the Ottoman empire as follows.

> The Sacred Law required the imposition of the Jizya only on free men capable of earning a living. Hence in the dimmi communities not only were women of all ages and conditions exempt from its incidence, but also such males as were slaves, children, infirm or aged. Nor was payment exacted either from those who though capable of earning a living did so with such a little success as to be unable to contribute without hardship, or from such monks as inhabited ill-endowed monastries. Under the Ottoman regime the last provision was extended to include all ministers of religion, and in later times at any rate many of the Dimmis employed in the government service obtained exemption both for themselves and their families.[3]

---

[1] Albert Hourani, "Minorities" in *The Contemporary Middle East : Tradition and Innovation*, Edited by Benjamin Rivlin and Joseph S. Szyliowicz, New York, Random House, 1965, p. 211.

[2] H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen say, "Indeed there seems to have been something sympathetic to the Jewish nature in the culture of Islam. It is a fact at any rate that despite their condemnation to a dimmi status, from the rise of the Caliphate till the abolition of the ghettos in Europe the most flourishing centers of Jewish life were to be found in Moslem countries, in Irak during the Abbaside period, in Spain throughout the period of Moorish domination and thereafter in the Ottoman Empire." *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, Pt. II, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 218.

[3] H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and The West*, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

The history of Islam, in short, provides unmistakable evidence, that the non-Muslims, had ample opportunities to thrive and prosper. If they had been persecuted or harassed, they would not have been able to make such luminous contributions to the Islamic civilization. Whatever limited restraints and restrictions existed in theory on their activities were often ignored in practice. Histories, legal texts, and caliphal decrees are replete with instances which show deep concern of the Muslim rulers for the status of the minorities. They were given the maximum freedom of their religious and commercial transactions, and deviation from the contractual obligations entailed by the pact with them was rare. Outbreak of violence and repression took place only when any minority was found guilty of collaborating with the enemies of Islam, otherwise the relationship between the muslims and non-muslims was always based on mutual trust and tolerance.

THE 'A'ILAH: A MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

This paper presents in four parts a statement of the contribution that one social institution in Islamic culture could make to contemporary society. It is meant both to suggest an alternative, a new remedy for the social ills which are disturbing Western society, as well as to throw light on the importance of this institution—the 'A'ilah—for Muslims, who often take it for granted or even reject it as troublesome and old fashioned.

Several works already available in print or forthcoming have given detailed descriptions of the Islamic family (Abdal-Ati 1974 ; 1977 ; Esposito 1974 ; Ahmad 1974 ; Lutfiyya 1966 ; Fuller 1961). It is not my intention to attempt a repetition of those works. Instead, this paper will present in Part I a summary description of the Islamic[1] family, which will facilitate our focusing attention on some characteristics of that structure which might be therapeutic for the social problems we face today in North American society. Whether we be followers of Islam, of Christianity, of Judaism or "Fitzliputzli-ism," life in North America in the 1970's & 1980's presents inordinate strains on the family system as we know it and, as a result of this social disorganization or reorganization, often causes serious damage to individuals as well. These problems and their possible solutions through some form of extended[2] family organization shall be discussed in Part II of this paper. Part III presents some perequisites for the success of such a social plan. Returning to the consideration of Islamic society, Part IV discusses the extended family in reference to contemporary innovation and possible change in the Muslim World.

PART I—THE *'A'ILAH* OF ISLAMIC CULTURE

There are extended family systems operative in various cultures and regions of the world, but the one chosen as a model for comparative study in this presentation is that of the Islamic *'a'ilah*, as the extended family is known in Arabic-speaking regions. My information regarding this extended family was derived, first of all, from the two literary sources which have served as guide in both religious and secular matters for the Muslim peoples for over thirteen centuries. In the first of these, the Qur'an, there are numerous passages which pertain to obligations and expectations of members of a family. No less important a source for prescriptive information on the Islamic family is the large number of anecdotes and sayings noted by companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAAS) and later recorded in the collections of *hadith*. Secondly, information was derived from works on the family by contemporary Muslims ; third, from the published results of sociological and anthropological field research ; fourth, from informants and observation while I lived or visited in various Muslim countries of the Middle East, the

Indian subcontinent and southeast Asia ; and fifth, from my personal experience as wife, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and mother within a closely knit Muslim kinship organization.

To describe the Islamic family means to describe a social institution which is recognizable over a wide geographic area. Despite some regional variations due to local customs which have been carried over from pre-Islamic social structures and institutions of the various regions, the important features of the *'a'ilah* have relevance among Muslims living in north and central Africa, in the Middle East, in a large portion of the Indian subcontinent, in Malaysia, Indonesia and the Southern Philippine Islands [3].

A. Composition :

A contemporary Muslim sociologist has described the Islamic family as an organization of individuals who are "related to one another through blood ties and/or marital bonds and whose relatedness is such that it entails mutual role expectations..." (Abdal-Ati 1974 : 38). In addition, it is necessary to add that the Islamic family is a patrilineal, [4] patrilocal network which accords little significance to the isolated nuclear family unit except among highly Westernized Muslims. In fact, there seems to be no precise term to designate the nuclear family in Arabic. The Muslim extended family or *'a'ilah* includes three or four generations of mutually dependent individuals who are commonly nucleated in a single residence or in separate but proximate accommodations. The family which shares a common residence has been designated as "residentially extended" while that whose members share the same roles and dependencies but are residentially dispersed to a greater or lesser degree is described as functionally extended (Farsoun 1970 : 11, 257) or modified extended. The *'a'ilah* includes not only mother and father and their unwed children, but also married sons and their wives and children, in addition to unwed paternal aunts and uncles (Lutfiyya 1966 : 142). It may include the various cells of polygynous marriages, which are legally and socially acceptable but statiscally rare in Islamic society. When the grandfather or eldest member of the family dies, the eldest married uncle or another of the married males becomes the nucleus for a new *'a'ilah* organization.

The individual members descendent from a common paternal ancestor also claim membership in a larger organization. This *hamulah* or clan has its own weaker ties of dependency and responsibility which accord with the less direct blood relationship. They are evidenced in the terms *ibn 'amm* (son of paternal uncle) and *bint 'amm* (daughter of paternal uncle) by which the members address their peers, and *'amm* (paternal uncle) or *'ammah* (paternal aunt) used for all elders of the *hamulah*. Beyond this the individual Muslim also feels a "kinship" with all other members of the *ummah*, or the world community of Muslims. He refers to its members as *ikhwan* or "brothers" and *akhawat* or "sisters."

B. Roles :

It has been observed and clearly stated that in the Islamic family the roles of men and women are complementary rather than competitive (Nelson 1968:60; Saleh 1972:196), different rather than discriminatory of either sex (Ahmad 1974: 15-16; Abdal-Ati 1975:2-3). In other words, the male and female roles are described as equal in importance but not identical. For the female, her role as wife and mother is considered "the most sacred and essential one" (Badawi 1975: 141). There is nothing in Islam however to prevent her from fulfilling other roles in society if they are not undertaken at the expense of her success in her domestic obligations. As compensation for her fulfilling these female roles, strong social, moral as well as legal measures are enlisted for imposing on the male members of society the obligation to provide for, support and protect all female members of the *'a'ilah*—wives, sisters, aunts, mothers, widows, daughters—as well as all other needy kin. The wife receives a marriage gift (*mahr*) from her husband which belongs to her exclusively, even should she be divorced later (Anderson 1970:494). It is to be divided in immediate and deferred portions, the former received by the wife at the time of marriage, the latter as a kind of "severance settlement" in case of divorce. The woman usually returns to her family of orientation in case of divorce, and her male relatives provide for her support. The former husband is responsible, however, for her maintenance during a three-month period (*'iddah*) following the divorce (Qur'an 2:241), and for longer periods if she is pregnant or there are children for whom she is caring (Qur'an 2:233).

The *'a'ilah* thus has not only a social function; it also acts as and economic unit for mutual aid and assistance to its members. Social and economic activities are undertaken jointly, and their benefits shared by the family jointly.[6] The only exception to this is that women who join the family through marriage retain their legal personalities, their maiden names,[7] and their right to full possession and control over their possessions, thier property and its earnings (Qur'an 4:23).

The Islamic family system is supported by the religious writings of Islam. The importance of marriage (Qur'an 4:1), of having and raising children (Qur'an 7:189-190), of close attachment to kin (Qur'an 4:8; 4:36; 17:26)—all these features have religious basis in the Qur'an itself as well as in the *sunnah* or example of the Prophet Muhammad (SAAS). In addition, the religious laws which have been derived from these two basic sources have given further reinforcement to the extended family system through specific provisions for inheritance and support based on nearness of relationship and sex. Different law schools (*madhahib*) may differ on small points (e.g., amount of customary dower, minimum age of bride and groom, regulations regarding care of children in case of divorce), but the major directives evidence and overwhelming conformity. This has provided an important influence for the Islamic family to develop in a relatively uniform pattern, even though manifested over such a wide geographic area.[8]

PART II.—THE EXTENDED FAMILY AND CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN SOCIETY

The nuclear or conjugal family of Western society has been the object of much concern and speculation in recent times. For decades thinkers have viewed the changes in its structure and function with no little concern. The contemporary situation of the family has been designated as a "predicament," a "dilemma," a "tragedy"; and some define the disturbance as a "violent breaking up of a system" (Carle C. Zimmerman, quoted in Adams 1973:353). Others have been more optimistic, feeling that the changes are more signs of reorganization than of complete disintegration. They express the belief that the important functions the family fulfils cannot be covered by any other known social institution (Nimkoff 1965:357-62; Schelsky 1954:331-335) and therefore that the present disturbance is more a period of restructuring than collapse. It is argued that even in those societies where one or more of the functions usually ascribed to the family can be or have been taken over by other societal institutions, the residual functions cannot be satisfied by that substitute institution or institutions. For example, after the early attempts by Communist Russia and the Israeli kibbutzim to completely supplant the family in their societies, it became apparent that the family was a necessity which could not be eradicated without serious detriment to its members, and subsequently to society. It would seem therefore that we must attempt to respond to changes in our lives and in the family, helping direct the course of its future development in order to ensure its successful functioning in the future.

Some of the recent changes in the family represent reactions to such discoveries of science as artificial insemination, improvements in contraception, incubator birth, etc. Others are due to the myriad changes in social, economic and political factors in contemporary society (*e.g.*, urbanization, widening role of governmental agencies, increase in size and impersonal nature of productive organizations, mobility, increased employment of women, declining birth rate, overpopulation). The family has also been compelled to face drastic changes in ideas concerning the Absolute and the relation of man to religious ideas and religious institutions. Organized religion no longer exerts the stabilizing influence it formerly had on the family, and there is a profound lack of consensus on what is right and what is wrong, what is desirable and what is undesirable.

Whether these changes are seen as "dissolution" or as "progress," no one can fail to realize that there are drastic "inconsistencies" (Adams 1973:350) between the functions demanded of the contemporary American family and the adaptation of the prevalent institution to fulfil those needs. As a result of this imbalance, adults and children in our society—as well as society itself—are suffering immeasurable damage. As participants in that society, we cannot be oblivious to these problems. We have an obligation at least to try to stem the tide of "disintegration, or—if you will—to direct the course of "progress." The benefits which can be expected from the family in its role as buffer and liaison organization between the

individual and the larger segments of society are not being attained under the present nuclear family system prevalent in North American society. In fact, the social disorganization experienced by the middle class in the mid-1970's is nearly as great as that which characterized the low income family of the early 1960's (Woodward and Malamud 1975:48).[9] Not only is the nuclear family in its new circumstances failing to do its job; the high divorce rate[10] is truncating that family cell still further. One American child in six is now raised in a signle-parent family, often a parent who, because of financial necessity, is also a working parent. The fact that the remarriage rate is also high does little to alleviate the sociological and psychological harm done to the family members, and especially to the children involved.

In investigating remedies and alternatives for improving our contemporary and future society, we need to combat the reluctance to consider the extended family as a viable solution to our societal problems or as a directive towards that goal. The extended family includes a wide set of individual and collective responsibilities, but it also includes a wide set of advantages and benefits. Before we reject the increased obligations as unacceptable, before we throw out any infringement on our individual freedom as intolerable, let us realize that we are today paying a tremendous price for this freedom, a societally devastating burden for our escape from responsibility. No doubt it is time for us all to look hard and long at alternatives for the future. This is true for those societies which are already deeply involved in the problems resulting from family "disintegration" or "progress," as well as for those developing societies which stand at the crossroads and are still deciding on their future direction.

The advantages that could be derived from some form of extended family system seem manifold. We shall deal here with its possible contribution to only some of our contemporary problems.

A. Women's Role :

One of the problems facing North American society today is the indecision about women's role in the family and society. Recognizing the injustices which have been suffered by the female members of society in many places and periods. No one with a sense of social commitment would suggest that the proper remedy lies in a rampant individualism which causes woman to forsake her responsibilities to husband, parents and even to children in her endeavor to be "liberated". This so-called liberation is creating instead a new kind of bondage for many women. They are being called upon to fill more than their share of the societal burden. They are being pressured to combine the role of homemaker and mother with that of a job or a career or risk the condemnation of their society. A large proportion of the female population is fulfilling a male role and a female role at the same time. In most cases, these women have failed to succeed at both. As a result of their struggle, the male members of society are also being pushed into a correlative double role—to be maintainers and wage earners at the same time as they tend the kids and cook the meals and launder the clothes. Such mixing

of responsibilities, whether for the female or male, is bound to result in frustration, overwork and some measure (depending on the capabilities of the participant family members) of tragedy.

The male suffers not only physical difficulty as he attempts to take over some of the wife's obligations which she is unable to fulfil in her new multiple role as career woman-wife-mother; in such situations his intellectual and emotional satisfaction are also curtailed. His wife does not have the mental or emotional reserve energy to listen to his problems and successes. She has no time to share in his plans when she has to cope with her double set of problems, originating outside as well as inside the home.

A childless couple has less difficulty in managing such a situation, but the majority of American families have one or more children. The mad dash for jobs outside the home has seriously increased the number and severity of physical, mental and emotional problems among young children as well. Childern are often inadequately cared for by babysitters or day care centers; others are left to fend for themselves as "latchkey" children until the parents return from their separate jobs. Statistics leave little doubt that these children, their parents and society are in need of drastic help. Every year at least one million children run away from home in the United States. Juvenile delinquency is increasing so rapidly that today one child in every nine can be expected to appear in juvenile court before the age of eighteen; and even as far back as 1975, suicide had become the second most important cause of death among young people between the ages of fiteen and twenty-four in the United States (Woodward and Malamud 1975:48). Often the strains on mother and father and children become so unbearable that the family is broken by divorce, and the problems multiply with the increased polarization between individuals. Single parents, whether male or female, experience even greater problems in coping with the multi-role life.

Such difficulties could be alleviated by an extended family system in which elder or unmarried members of the family cover some of the child-rearing burdens of the working or even the non-working mother and enable her to provide the back-up physical, intellectual and emotional support needed by the working males. The wife would then enjoy a real "liberation" to devote her major efforts to overseeing her family responsibilities; or, if other women in the family are free and wish to fulfil that tole, to pursue a career of her choice with free conscience. The extended family organization as exemplified in the *'a'ilah* makes it possible for women to choose to have a carrier without detriment to any individual member of the family or any sector of society.

B. Loneliness :

A second problem in modern society is the personal loneliness experienced by many of its members. In this regard, we mention especially the older men and women who do not fit into the nuclear kinship unit. The fate of the aged is to live

in isolation from intergenerational contact once their children have grown, their loneliness and isolation broken only by occasional dutiful visits from children or grandchildren. When they become unable to manage their physical affairs, they are sent to old folks' or nursing homes where they await death. Their family lives seem to end with the completion of their procreation and child-rearing functions. In the Islamic family these members of an elder generation continue to fulfil an important role in the family throughout their lives and thereby provide service for the other members of the family as well as make their own lives meaningful for the longest possible period of time. The respect accorded elderly members of the Islamic family is not merely a matter of social convention. It is backed by Qur'anic directives as well (Qur'an 17:23-24; 29:8; 31:14; 46:15-18).

The loneliness problems of the unmarried or divorced men and women in American society, the singles crowd, are hardly less crucial as the commentaries on computer dating organizations and singles commercial establishments give evidence. The inclusion of these individuals in an extended family system would provide them an honorable re-entry into societal relationships with reciprocal benefits to all members of the family organization. Whether male or female, whether wage earners or in charge of domestic or child care duties, they could play an important role in an extended family organization. The social activities of that family would prevent the loneliness produced by the exclusion they experience in the nuclear family society.

C. Disintegration of Moral Fibre :

A third major problem in contemporary society involves the disintegration of moral fibre. Crimes of every nature and description fill the courts and prisons of our lands with culprits and infringe on the peaceful existence of a large segment of the population. Security in the cities of North America has become a dreamed of luxury known only by past generations. Even leaders of the nation are found to be lacking in the most basic features of honest behavior. There is no doubt that one of the major reasons for this steadily deteriorating situation is our failure to adequately socialize our children. An extended family system could give both men and women the choice of fulfilling themselves in a career or in the family, or in both at different periods of their life, without risking damage to their children, themselves and society by their failing to provide adequate home training for their children. No moral or intellectual training can hope to succeed which is left in the hand of the child's peer group, the schools, the street gangs, or an uncontrolled television set. No feeling of emotional security can be engendered in a child whose adult family members have no time to spend with him. The problems that such "child-rearing" generates will be far greater to parents and society than the inconvenience of less privacy and the curb on individualism that the extended family grouping entails.

It is not only a matter of poper childhood training that contributes to the disintegration of moral fibre. Just as damaging is the mobility and anonymity of

our society. Neighborhoods have broken up. Job opportunities propel both men and women from one end of the country to another. Even living within one urban area all one's life can fail to give an individual a feeling of belonging, because of the rapid turnover in neighborhood populations, the consolidated school systems, and the dispersal of citizens for higher education and job opportunities. The individual is forever the stranger among strangers, feeling no pull to conform to the moral and social expectations of old friends and relatives. No one knows him, so he is freed of moral compunctions regarding his deeds and thoughts. The reintegration of such adults into an extended family organization which is mindful of his moral as well as physical welfare could provide great benefit to society as well as to its individual members.

D. The Parent Problem :

A fourth problem which confronts society today is the difficulty of parenting our children. According to John Anderson, a director for the Family Services of Detroit and a father himself, "Parents have lost control of their families. They feel inadequate, overwhelmed—I know I do" (quoted by Woodward and Malamud 1975:48). The example of the 'a'*ilah* offers several remedies for the parenting problems with which so many couples or single parents are confronted today. One of these derives from the fact that the greater the number of adults available in the home, the more a child has opportunity to spend his time with and be influenced by them rather than by uncertain street influences, television, or his peer group. It is for this reason that the extended family which has a single residential nucleus usually provides much more effective parenting than the extended family which is residentially dispersed though still bound by commitments of obligation and service.

Secondly, disciplinary problems with children will in fact be far less frequent and severe if the child knows the parent is backed by aunts, uncles, and/or grandparents who are "on-the-scene" to enforce any adult decision. The sheer force of numbers among the adults will in fact be a stabilizing element on juvenile caprice which no husband-wife team or single parent has at his disposal.

Thirdly, the conflict which can sometimes mar the relationship between one adult and a particular child in a nuclear family situation is alleviated when that parent is only one of many adults in the family. In such a circumstance the child can relate to another adult of the same sex as the parent with whom he has difficulty, and in that way avoid any of the psychological problems that might acrue from a similar estrangement in a nuclear family situation.

Fourthly, the generation gap which often hampers parenting could be alleviated by an extended family system. There has always been some difference in the thinking of members of different generations. It is quite natural that one views events, actions and ideas in one way at age 10, in another way at age 20, and at still another way at the age of 50. The experience of years has a telling

effect on any individual. That is not something that any society can hope to change or even wants to remedy. It is in fact a desirable phenomenon. The generation gap of the late twentieth century, however, has become a problem which causes serious loss of advisory and educative help to the younger members of society and a devastating loss of involvement and companionship for its older members. By growing in a socializing atmosphere which provides close contact with members of at least three generations, the children of an extended family similar to the *'a'ilah* would be much less likely to reject offhand the influence of the elders of the family. The constant presence of some member of another generation would keep every child aware of the wide range of interests and ideas in our multi-generation world and thus give him a better training for his future life. In addition, it would keep the older members of society "young" through constant contact with its junior members.

PART III.—PREREQUISITES FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY IN NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETY

Even from such a brief perusal of problems relating to the family which are faced by contemporary society, it is evident that the extended family has many advantages to offer. However, its implementation requires more than the mere realization of its worth by a few social reformers or social planners. It has prerequisites for success which are suggested by the Islamic example.

A. Propaganda Compaign :

One of these prerequisites is a propaganda compaign to counter the heritage of ill-will with which the extended family and the inter-dependence it demands are viewed. In North America many of our contemporaries consider any infringement on individualism and independence as wrong. They fail to realize that it is precisely to the extent that they are dependent on others and others are dependent on them that their psychological well-being and their adjustment in society-in fact, their sanity-depends. A campaign is needed to convince people that even values such as individual freedom are subject to misuse and overemphasis. We must break down the "reluctance to see that the excessive emphasis upon the isolated individual is the tragedy of modern man" (Anshen 1959:11).

B. Upgrading of Domestic Roles :

Secondly, there is a need for a drastic change in the image and treatment of domestic roles.[11] Whereas Islamic society views motherhood as the most prestigious role for women, the liberationists have so downgraded and repudiated the household, the child-bearing and child-rearing roles that no women feels any longer able to hold her head aloft if she does not have another occupation outside the home—however menial or less beneficial to society, to herself and her family that occupation may be. We have been brainwashed into thinking that only the factory job, the secretarial post, the teaching or executive position demands intelligence, perseverance, and skill. How mistaken we are! And how much

our families and all their members are suffering for this blindness! The job of homemaker is one which demands as much intelligence, perseverance and skill as any job outside the home. This may be one of the most important lessons that we could impress on future generations. We must never underestimate the importance of the domestic roles which mold tomorrow's citizenry at the same time as they maintain today's society. It is time we stopped telling the lazy girl student that she will be good for only cooking or caring for children if she does not improve in her studies. Instead we should give homemaker's and mother's medals!—not simply for *being* a homemaker or for being a biological mother, but for being an *exemplary* homemaker or mother. If we restore to these roles the importance they deserve, we would fulfil one of the prerequisites of the success of an extended family system and at the same time widen the options for both male and female members of our society.

C. Decentralization :

Another way of ensuring the success of the extended family would be to encourage decentralization in national planning. The goal should be to provide each community with the educational, the economic, and the leisure facilities which would make it possible for young people to stay in their own communities and in their family groups at the end of their secondary schooling. The examples of poor, or of utter lack of, planning in such matters can be seen throughout the world. They can even be found in many of the developing nations where "planned economies" are supposed to exist and national governments wield a powerful hand in local affairs. Industry, facilities for higher education, and recreational possibilities are often concentrated in one or tow centers while the rest of the nation is devoid of all such opportunities. It is true that the cities of Islamic countries seem to be more conglomerations of villages than cities in the Western sense (see Abu-Lughod 1970: 664-678); yet the separation from the residual family of the village is not a thing to be encouraged. Countries like Egypt, India and the Philippines not only suffer a brain drain to Western countries; they even suffer a brain drain from countryside and village to Cairo, New Delhi and Manila. A provincial leader from the island of Mindanao in the Philippines remarked that the local village community from which he comes is no longer encouraged to finance students to go to Manila for higher education—not to speak of sending them to America! Once outside the confines of the village, with its dearth of job, education and recreation opportunities, the young men and women are reluctant to return to serve their communities which need them so desperately.

In Western nations, where organization of productive and consumptive facilities is less directly controlled by governments than it is in many other nations, one would not expect to find the imbalance of opportunities remedied. Actually, we are all well aware of the discrepancies in opportunities that have helped clog the cities and depopulate the countryside of North America. If each community could share a measure of the nation's facilities for education, employment and recrea-

tion, there would be little need for the enforced mobility which plagues our society today and will be the disease of all developing countries tomorrow if they do not learn from our experience. Unless we can provide a stability to families and communities, we risk the dangers of continuing in a situation which has been compared to the ills suffered by a nomadic population or the families of migrant farm workers (Woodward and Malamud 1975: 53; see also Zimmerman 1947 and Sorokin 1941).

It might be argued that such decentralization involves tremendous amounts of money in relocation and industrial transportation costs. But the cost in human suffering and the irreparable damage to society which the concentration in a few major cities has brought are much more costly—costly in human life and well-being, and also costly in dollars and cents. Each year millions are spent on crime detection, on public welfare and on incacerating deviant citizens, in addition to the money spent reparing the damage to our ecological systems which results from these overconcentrations of population.

D. Legal Benefits :

A fourth way of encouraging the implementation of an extended family system in order to alleviate some of our contemporary social problems would be to provide legal benefits for those who support such a family system. Tax laws could be enacted which would encourage members of an extended family to maintain their needy kin regardless of age. Islamic family laws of inheritance and maintenance have played an important role in the structure and function of the family in Muslim society. New legislation in North America might include such features as tax concessions for families supporting three or more generations, inheritance laws providing not only for wife and children but for other members of the extended family as well, and provisions making well-off members of a family legally responsible for the welfare of its needy kin.

E. Housing :

Housing requisites for the larger families would be different from those of the nuclear family, but this requirement is one that is perhaps most easy to fulfil. Just as the larger homes of the last century, which accomodated the larger families prevalent at that time, were divided into small apartments, they could be re-opened to accomodate larger families. More modern homes could be expanded by the addition of rooms and removal of partitions to expanded interiors.

IV. Now let us focus our attention on the role of the *'a'ilah* in contemporary and future Muslim society.

A. Can the Islamic Family Exist in an Industrial Urban Society ?

Probably one of the most frequently asked questions regarding the Islamic family is whether it can survive when the developing Muslim countries move from a primarily agricultural economy to an industrial economy, and when urban life

supersedes village life. The usual Western, non-Muslim response to this question is that certainly, when the economies of Muslim countries become like ours, their family system will also become like that of the West. This is a possibility of course, and the trend to the nuclear family and the weakening of extended family bonds among highly Westernized Muslims in the cities of the Muslim world, as well as among Muslim immigrants to Western Europe and the Americas, is ready evidence to support such a claim. To concentrate on these obvious but satistically limited examples however is misleading. Formal research has revealed many signs of hope that our Islamic family system is still alive and well, or at least showing strength. A study made of the effect on rural Egyptian migrants who have settled in Cairo shows that urban life had made much less change in their lives than would have been expected (Abu-Lughod 1970:664-678). Migrants to Cairo have tended to set up village segments within the urban area and thus avoid the anonymity and the social disorganization often experienced by migrants to Western cities. Keller and Mendelson (1971:1-20) found in a study of Iranian modernization and industrialization that, despite the changes taking place in the last decade in Iran, the family has remained a relatively unchanged institution. The urbanization process in Iran was discovered to have many persons into the cities but they have, for the most part, settled in small kinship pockets within the urban areas" (*Ibid.* : 17).

Even in Lebanon, probably the most Westernized of the Asian and African countries where Muslims live, the study of Farsoun (1970 : II, 257-307) concludes that "modernization...has not had in Lebanon its universally presumed consequences, especially with regard to family structure....even in the urban context the pivotal structural position and function of the functionally extended family.... remain exceedingly important ....Hence, the kinship dimension continues to be a major principle of social organization in this most apparently Western-like of Arab countries" (*Ibid.* : II, 307). Manufacturing and commercial organizations, as well as retail stores are to a large extent owned and operated by large families. Often partnerships and even corporations are extended kin establishments (*Ibid.* : 263). Even the largest companies of the country are kind dominated (*Ibid.* : 264). In fact, the concept of corporate shareholding provides a perfect means of distributing the Islamically required inheritance without breaking up the enterprise. Not only are investment, ownership and financing kin-supported functions; the family also fulfils the role of employer and placement agency for its members. The kinship ties even seem to survive the residential dispersal of emigration. One of the amazing phenomena of the Lebanese economy is the large amount of foreign capital derived annually from emigrant Lebanese who continue to contribute to the family members remaining in the country and to their commercial enterprizes. It would seem then that Muslim society may be able to retain the benefits of its extended family system in spite of industrialization and modernisation if they are alert to its benefits and prepared to strive for its survival.

B. Are Changes in Family Law altering the Effectiveness of the Islamic Family ?

It is a well-known fact that family law is the branch of Islamic law which has been subjected to least change in modern times (Anderson 1970 : 493). Perhaps because of its "transcendent" roots in the Qur'an, change in this law have been strongly resisted whereas in fields like commercial. Criminal and civil law drastic changes were allowed and accepted. Perhaps, on the other hand, this conservative guarding of family law was due to an innate sense for what would preserve the society. At any rate, most Muslim jurists have refrained from tampering drastically with family laws.[12]

As long as the goal of innovations in our laws in Muslim nations remain the alleviation or elimination of abuses that have crept into Muslim practice in contradiction to Qur'anic intent, they would seem to present no danger to the healthy and successful continuation of the Islamic extended family. Muslim lawmakers should be conscious of the dangers, however, of rewriting inheritance laws to favour nuclear family members at the expense of wider kin relationships. This could prove to be detrimental to the very functioning of the kinship network by releasing its ties of mutual dependency. Are they aware of the contemporary trends in some Muslim legal systems to diminish mutual dependency relationships—whether between men and women, between parents and children, between collateral or less closely related members of the kinship network ? Are they aware that such changes may destroy that very dependence and responsibility which is such a necessary element for human social and psychological well being ?

C. What Would a Trend toward Functional Rather than Residential Extension of the Family Have on the *'A'ilah* ?

Among the Westernized Muslims of some urban areas in the Muslim World and of most Muslim families in Western Europe and the Americas, a trend from the residentially extended family to the functionally extended family can be noticed. It has been proven that in many cases the functionally extended family in Muslim society has the same structure and performs the same functions as its residentially nucleated counterpart. A Muslim sociologist writes that "The family members may reside in one and the same place or make separate and independent arrangements. Whatever pattern they chose will be of little consequence as far as their mutual role expectations are concerned" (Abdal-Ati 1974:39).

There can be no doubt, however, that the greater the residential separation, and the less frequent the activities shared by and the contacts between its members, the more difficulty the 'a' *ilah*, or any extended family organization, will have in maintaining its cohesiveness. It is important for us to monitor the trend toward functional extension and the effects it may have on the 'a'*ilah*. If it does not destroy role expectations, it may prove to have little negative effect on the Islamic family. If, on the other hand, it is a harbinger of increasing individualism and diminishing interdependencies, it could be the tool of drastic change in Muslim society in the years to come.

D. Will the Women's Liberation Movement Disrupt the Extended Family in Muslim Society ?

If women's liberation means, as it does in the West, the rejection of any differentiation between male and female roles; if it means, as it seems to mean in the West, a refusal of the interdependence, the mutual responsibilities and dependencies that Islamic marriage and family relationships demand; if it means heightened ——even rampant——individualism, the effect on the 'a' *ilah* of the increased importance or wholesale adoption of that movement by Islamic society could be disastrous.

However, if women's liberation can espous different goals in different societies—as I feel sure it must, to be relevant; if women's liberation can mean a contemporary exemplification of the spirit of the Qur'anic injunctions concerning women's religious, social, and political equality; if it can redress injustices that some Muslim societies and/or individuals—not Islam itself—have done to women, there is no reason to feel that some form, but a uniquely Islamic form of liberation would be dangerous to Muslim society and its family system. A stress on equal responsibilities for the actions of women as well as men (Qur'an 3:195; 4:124; 33:35-36), the equal need for the education and acquiring of knowledge by both sexes,[13] justice for women in the matter of divorce (Qur'an 2:228), women's right to be contributing participants in society,[14] their right to earn a living and to enjoy the proceeds of their labors (Qur'an 4:32), their right to a just share of the inheritance of their parents (Qur'an 4:7); their right to a dower and to maintenance as an assistance for their child bearing and child rearing responsibilities (Qur'an 4:25; 4:34)—all these are rights granted to women in the seventh century by Allah *subhanahu wa ta'ala* in the Holy Qur'an. They are items of social justice which, even in the most "advanced societies", we are still striving to achieve. Recalling these injunctions of the Holy Qur'an and the *sunnah* of the Prophet (SAAS) cause us to view the situation of Muslim women in some parts of the Muslim World today as not only shocking and lamentable, but even truly un-Islamic. A women's liberation which returned those rights to women need not be detrimental to the extended family. If our Islamic goals for society are kept ever in view, a reinstatement of the rights of women would indeed have the salutary effect of renewing and revivifying the participation and contribution of every female member within that kinship organization. It would indeed be a liberation not only of women, but a liberation of men and children as well.

Conclusion :

Contemporary society faces social problems in the latter half of the twentieth century which make constructive thinking on the part of social planners imperative. The social scientist can no longer sit in his "ivory tower" collecting data and writing research papers. He must assume a constructive role in social planning if he is to avoid the accusation of irrelevance or impotence, or the worse

condemnation of being unconcerned about his society, about his fellowman. If this total commitment and involvement is to be realized anywhere in the world, it should be realized in Muslim societies, where each individual is asked, even commanded, to make his every thought and action conform with and be determined by the ideology of *tawhid.*

We look forward therefore—whether in the East or the West, in predominantly Muslim or in predominantly non-Muslim nations—for the ameliorating effects on our contemporary social problems that these Muslim social scientists can provide. They will not help us by repeating the statements and mistakes of their Western, non-Muslim counterparts and teachers. Only with a revitalized Islamic spirit can they provide the contemporary blueprint for society which will bring back to the world that vitality and social health which the early Islamic movement brought to a problem-ridden society in the seventh century. Only then can we hope to actualize the Islamic contribution which was revealed to the Prophet (SAAS).

NOTES

1. An association of Muslim scholars in North America has made a recent attempt to differentiate between the meanings of the two terms, "Muslim" and "Islamic". For them, "Muslim" implies mere statistical connection with Islam, whereas "Islamic" is used when the person, thing or idea in question can be proved to be ideationally determined by the basic principles of Islam. This article will use these two adjectives interchangeably with their customary signification, *i.e.*, of or pertaining to the religion of Islam or to the followers of that religion.

2. The extended family is designated sometimes as "joint" (Fuller 1970), "corporate" (Blitsten 1963), or "composite" (Murdock 1949).

3. "There is thus, in spite of local variety, a considerable unity in the cultural pattern of Islam throughout the whole area inhabited by the almost 300 million Muslims today. It is therefore possible to present an account of the family in Islam which, while primarily relevant to Arabia and its immediate neighbours, will in general hold true of Muslim communities wherever they are found" (Jeffery 1959: 202-203). (Though the general idea of this quotation is true, the estimate of the world's Muslim population is grossly out-of-date. Scholars in 1977 calculate that the figure is certainly over 800 million and perhaps as much as 1 billion.)

4. The only major exception to patrilineal descent is found among the Tuareg in the Sahara (Patai 1969:86).

5. This is especially significant since Arabic is unusually rich in terminology relating to the family. "The importance of the family and of family life is expressed, among other manifestations, in the extremely rich terminology centered around the family and used in the everyday colloquial in Arab countries"

(Patai 1969:113). Fakhouri equates the term *bait* with the nuclear family, but he admits that he has assigned this term arbitrarily for the sake of clarity (Fakhouri 1972 : 55).

6. It is certainly possible to agree with Sussman (1959; 1965) and Reiss (1962) that kin networks do function both socially and economically in the United States. Yet the extent and frequency of the kin contacts cannot be seen as other than relatively unimportant when compared to those of the Islamic family (*see* Parsons 1943; 1965). As for relations between secondary kin in the United States (*e.g.*, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, etc.), they have been aptly described as "circumstantial" or "incidental" (Adams 1973:291). "....Such relations seldom involve frequent contact, common interests, mutual aid, or strong affectional and obligatory concern" (*Ibid*).

7. Although any woman has this right, it is not uniformly adhered to in the Muslim world. Taking the husband's name is also known in many countries.

8. "....The family will be found to come under the same legal regulation wherever Muslim communities are established and will therefore have much the same structure throughout the Muslim world" (Jeffery 1959 : 204). Notable exceptions to this rule are found in Turkey, where a wholesale adoption of Western law took place early in this century, and in Tunisia, where substantial changes were introduced in the Code of Personal Status promulgated by a decree in 1956. In other places the law remained essentially the same and changes in application and interpretation served to redress any alleged injustices occasioned by contemporary circumstances (Anderson 1968 : 224-225). Even in those places where the laws dealing with the family have undergone major changes (*i.e.*, Turkey and Tunisia), the 'a'*ilah* shows little variance from its manifestations in other parts of the Muslim world.

9. We read in Glasser and Glasser (1970:10) that "family instability and its concomitants (notably delinquency and crime) are written about in the newspapers and magazines every day. The problem of illness is increasingly in the limelight....especially among the poor....If we (as individuals) have not yet experienced the crisis of acute or chronic illness in our families, it is highly likely that we will in the not too distant future." "....Few consider that the goals of sex regulation and effective childrearing and socialization are satisfactority achieved by today's system" (Cuber 1970:12).

10. In 1963, 34% of American marriages ended in divorce (Adams 1973:334). According to recent figures, there is now one divorce for nearly every two mariages in the United States, with rates rising rapidly among families with children. A report of the mid-1970's claims that in the previous year the parents of more than one million children in the United States were divorced (Woodward and Malamud 1975). The intimation of Goode (1963) that United States divorce rates have caused undue alarm since they are actually lower than in many other parts of the world has been challenged by more recent research, at least as the comparison pertains to the Near Eastern Family (Prothro and Diab 1974:173-173)

11. Mainardi has described housework as "garbage work" and as "degrading and humiliating for someone of *my* intelligence" (Mainardi 1970 : 450). According to Betty Friedan, the house wife and mother is only living vicariously (Fridan 1974 : 36), performing her "menial task" (*Ibid.*:206), the "drudgery of cooking, cleaning and washing" (*Ibid.* "231), as contrasted to those who pursue the "truly creative goals in the outside world" (*Ibid.*"217).

12. An exception to this rule is the case of Turkey where a wholesale adoption of Western law took place early in this century. In most other places, family law reform was accomplished by going back to the original sources of the law and reinterpreting and applying them in the light of contemporary circumstances (Anderson 1968 : 224-5).

13. An oft-quoted saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad is, ' Education is a sacred duty for every Muslim and every Muslimah."

14. Women played an important role in the early centuries of Islam, even achieving power in state affairs. 'A'ishah, one of the wives of Muhammad, is a case in point. Not only was she very active in the political disturbances following the murder of the third caliph, 'Uthman, but in the famous Battle of the Camel in 656, she cheered on and led the troops opposing 'Ali from the back of a camel at the head of the foray. There is a famous story about a woman who held a heated argument with the caliph 'Umar over the reduction and limitation of dowries. After she rose in the mosque and presented her views, the caliph bowed to the lady in admiration and declared his acceptance of the validity of her case.

REFERENCES CITED

Abdal-Ati, Hammudah

1974 "Modern Problems, Classical Solutions : An Islamic Perspective on the Family," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 5(2) : 37—54.

1975 "Women in Islam," unpublished paper.

1976 *The Family Structure in Islam*: *Explorations in Historicocultural Sociology.* Indianapolis, Indiana : North American Islamic Trust, in press.

Abu-Lughod, Janet

1970 "Migrant Adjustment to City Life : The Egyptian Case," *Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures,* ed. Abdulla M. Lutfiyya and Charles W. Churchill. The Hague, Paris : Mouton, 664—678.

Adams, Bert N.

1973 *The American Family : A Sociological Interpretation.* Chicago ; Markham Publishing Co., first pub. 1971.

Ahmad, Khurshid

1974 *Family Life in Islam.* Leicester, United Kingdom : The Islamic Foundation.

Anderson, J. N. D.

1968 "The Eclipse of the Patriarchal Family in Contemporary Islamic Law," *Family Law in Asia and Africa*, ed. J. N. D. Anderson. New York : Frederick A. Praeger, first pub. 1967, 221—234.

1970 "The Islamic Law of Marriage and Divorce," *Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures*, ed. Abdulla M. Lutfiyya and Charles W. Churchill. The Hague, Paris : Mouton, 492—504.

Anshen, Ruth Nanda

1959 "The Family in Transition," *The Family : Its Function and Destiny*, ed. Ruth Nanda Anshen. New York : Harper and Row, 3—19, first pub. 1949.

Badawi, Gamal A.

1975 "Woman in Islam." *Islam: Its Meaning and Message*, ed. Khurshid Ahmad. London : Islamic Council of Europe, 131—145.

Blitsten, Dorothy R.

1963 *The World of the Family.* New York : Random House.

Cuber, John F.

1970 "Alternate Models from the Perspective of Sociology," *The Family in Search of a Future : Alternate Models for Moderns*, ed. Herbert A. Otto. New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Esposito, John L.

1974 "Muslim Family Law in Egypt and Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Legal Reform, its Sources and Methodological Problems," Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, Department of Religion (January, 1974).

Fakhouri, Hani

1972 *Kafr El-Elow : An Egyptian Village in Transition.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Farsoun, S. K.

1970 "Family Structure and Society in Modern Lebanon," *People and Cultures of the Middle East*, ed. Louise E. Sweet. Garden City, N.Y. : Natural History Press.

Friedan, Betty 1974 *The Feminine Mystique*. New York : Dell Publishing Co.

Fuller, Anne H. 1961 *Buarij: Portrait of a Lebanese Muslim Village*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

1970 "The World of Kin," *Readings in Arab Middle Eastern Societies and Cultures*, ed. Abdulla M. Lutfiyya and Charles W. Churchill. The Hague, Paris : Mouton, 526—534.

Glasser, Paul H. and Lois N. Glasser, ed.
1970 *Families in Crisis*. New York : Harper and Row.

Goode, William J.
1963 *World Revolution and Family Patterns*. New York : Free Press.

Jeffery, Arthur
1959 "The Family in Islam," *The Family : Its Function and Destiny*, ed. Ruth Nanda Anshen. New York : Harper and Row, 201—238.

Lutfiyya, Abdullah M.
1966 *Baytin : A Jordanian Village*. The Hague : Mouton and Co.

Mainardi, Pat 1970 "The Politics of Housework," *Sisterhood is Powerful*, ed. Robin Morgan. New York : Random House, 447—454.

Murdock, George P.
1949 *Social Structure*. New York : Macmillan.

Nelson, Cynthia
1968 "Changing Roles of Men and Women : Illustrations from Egypt," *Anthropological Quarterly* 41(2): 57—77.

Nimfoff, Meyr. ed.
1965 *Comparative Family Systems*. Boston : Houghton Mifflin.

Parsons, Talcott
1943 "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist* 45 : 22—38.

1965 "The Normal American Family," *Man and Civilization : The Family's Search for Survival*, Seymour M. Farber, Piero Mustacchi, and Roger H. L. Wilson, eds. New York : McGraw-Hill.

...stal, Raphael

1969 *Golden River to Golden Road.* Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, first pub. 1962.

...othro, Edwin Terry and Lufty Najib Diab

1974 *Changing Family Patterns in the Arab East.* Beirut : American University of Beirut.

...eiss, Paul J.

1962 "The Extended Kindship System : Correlates of and Attitudes on Frequency of Interaction," *Marriage and Family Living* 24 : 333—339.

...aleh, Saneya

1972 "Women in Islam : Their Status in Religious and Traditional Culture," *Inernational Journal of Sociology of the Family* 2(2) : 193—201.

...chelsky, Helmut

1954 "The family in Germany," *Marriage and Family Living* 16 : 331—335.

...orokin, P. A.

1941 *Social and Cultural Dynamics.* New York : American Book Company, four volumes.

...ussman, Marvin

1959 "The Isolated Nuclear Family : Fact or Fiction ?" *Social Problems* 6 : 333—340.

...Voodward, Kenneth L. and Phyllis Malamud

1975 "The Parent Gap," *Newsweek*, September 22 : 48—56.

...immerman, C. C,

The Family and Civilization. New York : Harper and Row, Publishers,

THE GRACE AND FINESSE OF THE HOLY QURAN—AN INSPIRING FORCE TO THE MUSLIM POETS—SOME GLIMPSES

Islam brought to the world the message of peace and love, and the holy Prophet Mohammad (Peace be on him) last of the Divine messengers preached the message of blessings for the whole of mankind. Islam approved all good things and denounced words and deeds which led to sins and deflections from the path of rectitude. Liberty of thought and action is allowed through expressions in prose and poetry which account for enlightenment of the mind and exaltation of the soul. Human nature is not to be curbed in giving vent to sincere feelings when there is no affront to elegant taste and ordinary dictates of social morality. The holy Prophet relished the sound of instruments played to the tune of songs by the maidens of Madina in according their boisterious welcome to him as their honoured guest and a new august personality in the midst of a thronging population. So also, the poetic odes of his uncle Abu Talib followed by others like Hassan bin Sabit were given an earnest ear, admired and encouraged with expressions of gratitude,

The holy Quran is the inspired word of God, and no human syllable or grammar can match it. It challenged the enemies of God to produce a single verse comparable in qualities of diction, and they had to go speechless and dumbfounded. The language and style of expressions in the holy Book are unique in beauty, vigour and sense of appeal that they constitute a master-piece of literature with characteristics 'par excellence'. Many of the lines carry all the qualities of a high-souled poetry. They sound like verses conforming in a way even to the pattern of rhyme and metre. It is for this reason that when recited in melodious voice by the "Qari", they bring enchantment to the listener whoever he may be. In the following passages, this humble writer and devotes shall venture to present and reproduce some selected portions from the greatest of books—the holy Quran—as proof positive of this appreciation and assertion.

Before proceeding with the citations proposed, it appears fit and proper that position of references in the holy Book to poets by placed in its proper perspective and clarified. 'Sura' XXVI is the relevant chapter. Verse No. 224 when read with Verse No. 227 brings into lurid light the true import, and while those are condemnable who are straying in evil, the others are praise-worthy "who belive. Work righteousness, engage much in the remembrance of God". Poetry is a divine gift. As such, the composer of poetry was not to be taken as condemned or 'per se' a contemptible being. Allah's message being for the welfare and happiness of mankind, the expectation was natural that the poet should pour out thoughts which are sublime and serve to ennoble human feelings or stir them to dynamic action which is constructive and not destructive. The poet being a Muslim first was to act as a protagonist of Islamic values and not to indulge in idle pastimes. He was not to play the role of a hypocritic with a wide chasm between thought and action or preach and inculcate ideas tending towards vitiating good

morals of a well-organised society and rouse the citizens un-necessarily to violence and anarchy against an administration functioning on the principles of Islamic ideology. I find it here useful to quote the following passages in the relevant context from the famous book of Translation and Commentary of the Holy Quran :—

"3237. —-—Poetry and other arts are not in themselves evil, but may on the contrary be used in the service of religion and righteousness. But there is a danger that they may be prostituted for base purposes. If they are insincere ('that they say what they do not') or are divorced from actual life or its goodness or its serious purpose, they may become instruments of evil or futility. They then wander about without any set purpose, and seek the depths (valleys) of human folly rather than the heights of divine light.

3238. Poetry and the fine arts which are to be commended are those which emanate from minds steeped in Faith, which try to carry out in life the fine sentiments they express in their artistic work, aimed at the glory of God rather than self-glorification or the fulsome praise of men with feet of clay, and do not (as in jihad) attack anything except aggressive evil. In this sense, a perfect artist should be a perfect man. Perfection may not be attainable in this life, but it should be the aim of every man, and especially of one who wishes to become a supreme artist, not only in technique but in spirit and essentials. Among the commendable poets contemporary with the holy Prophet may be mentioned Hassan and Labid: the latter had the honour of being one of the seven whose poems were selected for 'hanging' (the Mu'allaqat) in the Days of Ignorance."

Language being the vehicle of thought, the essentials of good poetry are dignity and beauty of expression and positive avoidance of obscenity, vitic .... exuberance, preposterious exaggeration, false eulogy and malicious calumny about men and matters.

I have already stated that the artistry of the Holy Book is without a parallel. The very first "Sura" known as "Faitha" bears a beauty of expression apart from the weight of thought—contents all its own. The original Arabic text is the best proof of this assertion, but it would make an objective reading to quote the English translation as follows :—

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعٰلَمِيْنَ ۙ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ
مٰلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّيْنِ ۗ اِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَاِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِيْنُ ۗ
اِهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيْمَ ۙ صِرَاطَ الَّذِيْنَ اَنْعَمْتَ
عَلَيْهِمْ ۙ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوْبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّآلِّيْنَ ۠

"Fatiha, or the Opening Chapter.

1. In the name of God, Most gracious,

Most Merciful·

2. Praise be to God,
The Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds.

3. **Most Gracious, Most Merciful;**
4. **Master of the Day of Judgment,**
5. **Thee do we worship,
And Thine aid we seek.**
6. Show us the straight way
7. The ways of those on whom
Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace,
Those whose (portion)
Is not wrath,
And who go not astray.

Quotation from 'Sura III' Al-i-Imran

Section 19

185. Every soul shall have
A taste of death :
And only on the Day
Of Judgment shall you
Be paid your full recompense.
Only he who is saved
Far from the Fire
And admitted to the Garden
Will have attained
The object (of Life) :
For the life of this world
Is but goods and chattels
Of deception.

186. Ye shall certainly
Be tried and tested
In your possessions
and in your personal selves;
And ye shall certainly
Hear much that will grieve you,
From those who received
The Book before you
And from those who
Worship many gods.
But if ye persevere
Patiently and guard
Against evil,—then
That will be
A determining factor
In all affairs.

Quotation from S. VI Ana' am or Cattle

Section 7

59. With Him are the keys
Of the Unseen, the treasures
That none knoweth but He.
He knoweth whatever there is
On the earth and the sea.
Not a loaf doth fall
But with his knowledge :
There is not a grain
In the darkness (or depths)
Of the earth, nor anything
Fresh or dry (green or withered),
But is (inscribed) in a Record
Clear (to those who can read).

60. It is He Who doth take
Your souls by night,
And hath knowledge of all
That ye have done by day :
By day doth He raise
You up again; that a term
Appointed be fulfilled;
In the end unto Him
Will be your return.
Then will He show you
The truth of all
That ye did.

Quotation from Section 12 ibid

95. It is God who causeth
The seed-grain
And the date-stone
To split and sprout.
He causeth the living
To issue from the dead,
And He is the One
To cause the dead
To issue from the living.
That is God : then how.
Are ye deluded
Away from the truth ?

96. He it is that cleaveth
The day=break (from the dark) :
He makes the night
For rest and tranquillity,
And the sun and moon
For the reckoning (of time) :
Such is the judgment
And ordering of (Him),
The Exalted in Power,
The Omniscient.

97. It is He Who maketh
The stars (as beacons) for you,
That ye may guide yourselves,
With their help,
Through the dark spaces
Of land and sea :
We detail Our Signs
For people who know.

98. It is He Who hath
Produced you
From a single person :
Here is a place of sojourn
And a place of departure :
We detail Our Signs
For people who understand.

99. It is He Who sendeth down
Rain from the skies :
With it We produce
Vegetation of all kinds :
From some We produce
Green (crops), out of which
We produce grain,
Heaped up (at harvest);
Out of the date-palm
And its sheaths (or spathes)
(Come) clusters of dates
Hanging low and near :
And (then there are) gardens
Of grapes, and olives,
and pomegranates,
Each (similar in kind)
Yet different (in variety) :
When they begin to bear fruit

And the ripeness thereof.
Behold ! in these things
There are signs for people
Who believe.

Quotation from S. X Yunus, or Jonah

5. It is He who made the sun
To be a shining glory
And the moon to be a light
(Of beauty), and measured out
Stages for her; that ye might
Know the numbers of years
And the count (of time).
Nowise did God create this
But in truth and righteousness.
(Thus) doth He explain His Signs
In detail, for those who understand.

6. Verily in the alternation
Of the Night and the Day,
And in all that God
Hath created, in the heavens
And the earth, are Signs
For those who fear Him.

7. Those who rest not their hope
On their meeting with Us,
But are pleased and satisfied
With the life of the present,
And those who heed not
Our signs,—

8. Their abode is the Fire,
Because of the (evil)
They earned.

9. Those who believe,
And work righteousness,—
Their Lord will guide them
Because of their Faith :
Beneath them will flow
Rivers in Gardens of Bliss.

Section 2

12. When trouble toucheth a man,
He crieth unto Us
(In all postures)—lying down
On his side or sitting,
Or standing. But when We
have solved his trouble,
He passeth on his way as if
He had never cried to Us
For a trouble that touched him !
Thus do the deeds of transgressors
Seem fair in their eyes !

Quotations from S. XIII. Ra' ad or Thunder

Section 2

12. It is He Who doth show you
The lightening, by way
Both of fear and of hope :
It is He Who doth raise up
The clouds, heavy
With (fertilising) rain!

13. Nay, thunder repeateth His praises,
And so do the angels, with awe :
He flingeth the loud-voiced
Thunder—bolts, and therewith
He striketh whomsoever He will...
Yet these (are the men)
Who (dare to) dispute
About God, with the strength
Of His power (supreme) !

17. He sends down water
From the skies, and the channels
Flow, each according to its measure :
But the torrent bears away
The foam that mounts up
To the surface. Even so,
Form that (ore) which they heat
In the fire, to make ornaments
Or utensils therewith,
There is a scum likewise.
Thus doth God (by parables)

Show forth Truth and Vanity.
For the scum disappears
Like froth cast out;
While that which is for the good
of mankind remains
On the earth. Thus doth God
Set forth parables.

Quotations from S. XV. Al-Hijr or The Rocky Tract

Section 4

45. The righteous (will be)
Amid gardens
And fountains
(Of clear flowing water).

46. (Their greeting will be) :
" Enter ye here
In peace and security."

47. And We shall remove
From their hearts any
Lurking sense of injury :
(They will be) brothers
(Joyfully) facing each other
On thrones (of dignity).

48. There no sense of fatigue
Shall touch them,
Nor shall they (ever)
Be asked to leave.

Quotations from S. XVI. Nahl or The Bee

Section 2

10. It is He who sends down
Rain from the sky :
From it ye drink,
And out of it (grows)
The vegetation on which
Ye feed your cattle.

11. With it He produces
For you corn, olives,
Date-palms, grapes,

And every kind of fruit :
Verily in this is a Sign
For those who give thought.

13. And the things on this earth
Which He has multiplied
In varying colours (and qualities) :
Verily in this is a Sign
For men who celebrate
The praises of God
(in gratitude).

14. It is He who has made
The sea subject, that ye
May eat thereof flesh
That is fresh and tender,
And that ye may extract
Therefrom ornaments to wear;
And thou seest the ships
therein that plough the waves,
That ye may seek (thus)
Of the bounty of God
And that ye may be grateful.

15. And He has set up
On the earth mountains
Standing firm, lest it should
Shake with you; and rivers
And roads; that ye
May guide yourselves;

16. And marks and sign-posts;
And by the stars
(Men) guide themselves.

17. Is then He Who creates
Like one that creates not ?
Will ye not receive admonition ?

18. It ye would count up
The favours of God,
Never would ye be able
To number them : for God
Is oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.

Section 9

66. And verily in cattle (too)
Will ye find an instructive Sign.
From what is within their bodies,
Between excretion and blood,
We produce, for your drink,
Milk, pure and agreeable
To those who drink it.

67. And from the fruit
Of the date-palm and the vine,
Ye get out wholesome drink
And food : behold, in this
Also is a Sign
For those who are wise.

Section 11

77. To God belongeth the Mystery
Of the heavens and the earth.
And the Decision of the Hour
(Of Judgment) is as
The twinkling of an eye,
Or even quicker :
For God hath power over all things.

78. It is He Who brought you
Forth from the wombs
Of your mothers when
Ye know nothing ;
and He gave you hearing and sight
And intelligence and affections :
That ye may give thanks
(To God).

79. Do they not look at
The birds, held poised
In the midst of (the air
And) the sky ? Nothing
Holds them up but (the power
of) God. Verily in this
Are Signs for those who believe.

80. It is God Who made you habitations
Homes of rest and quiet
For you; and made for you,
Out of the skin of animals,

(Tents for) dwellings, which
Ye find so light (and handy)
When ye travel and when
Ye stop (in your travels);
And out of their wool,
And their soft fibres
(Between wool and hair),
And their hair, rich stuff
And articles of convenience
(To serve you) for a time.

81. It is God Who made,
Out of the things He created,
Some things to give you shade;
Of the hills He made some
For your shelter; He made you
Garments to protect you
From heat, and coats of mail
To protect you from
Your (mutual) violence.
Thus does He complete
His favours on you, that
Ye may bow to His Will
(In Islam).

Quotations from S. XVIII. Kahf, or the Cave

Section 1

7. That which is on earth
We have made but as
A glittering show for the earth,
In order that We may test
Them-as to Which of them
Are best in conduct.

Section 4

30. As to those who believe
And work righteousness,
Verily We shall not suffer
To perish the reward
Of any who do
A (single) righteous deed.

31. For them will be Gardens
Of eternity; beneath them
Rivers will flow : they will
Be adorned therein
With bracelets of gold,
and they will wear
Green garments of fine silk
And heavy brocade;
They will recline therein
On raised thrones.
How good the recompense !
How beautiful a couch
To recline on !

Section 12

109. Say : " If the ocean were
Ink (wherewith to write out)
The words of my Lord,
Sooner would the ocean be
Exhausted than would the words
of my Lord, even if we
Added another ocean
Like it, for its aid."

Quotations from S. XXI. Anbiya, or the Prophets

Section 6

92. Verily, this Brotherhood
Of yours is a single Brotherhood,
And I am your Lord
And Cherisher : therefore
Serve Me (and no other).

Section 7

106. Verily in this (Quran)
Is a Message for people
Who would (truly) worship God.
107. We sent thee not, but
As a Mercy for all creatures.

104. The Day that We roll up
The heavens like a scroll
Rolled up for books (completed),—
Even as We produced
The first Creation,
Shall We produce
A new one : a promise
We have undertaken :
Truly shall We fulfil it.

Quotations from S. XXII. Hajj, or The Pilgrimage

Section 1

5. O mankind ! If ye have
A doubt about the Resurrection,
(Consider) that We created you
Out of dust, then out of
Sperm, then out of a leech-like
Clot, then out of a morsel
of flesh, partly formed
And partly unformed, in order
That We may manifest
(Our power) to you;
And We cause whom We will
To rest in the wombs
For an appointed term,
Then do We bring you out
As babes, then (foster you)
That ye may reach your age
Of full strength; and some
of you are called to die,
And some are sent back
To the feeblest old age,
So that they know nothing
After having known (much).
And (further), thou seest
The earth barren and lifeless,
But when we pour down
Rain on it, it is stirred
(To life), it swells,
And it puts forth every kind
Of beautiful growth (in pairs).

Quotations from S. XXIII. Muminun, or The Believers

Section 1

1. The believers must
(Eventually) win through,—
2. Those who humble themselves
In their prayers;
3. Who avoid vain talk;
4. Who are active in deeds
Of charity;
5. Who abstain from sex,

6. Except with those joined
To them in the marriage bond,
Or (the captives) whom
Their right hands possess,—
For (in their case) they are
Free from blame,

7. But those whose desires exceed
Those limits are transgressors,—

8. Those who faithfully observe
Their trusts and covenents;

9. And who strictly guard
Their prayers;—

10. These will be the heirs,

11. Who will inherit paradise :
They will dwell therein
(For ever).

Quotations from S. XXIV. Nur, or Light

Section 5

35. God is the Light
Of the heavens and the earth.
The parable of His light
Is as if there were a Niche
And within it a lamp :
The lamp enclosed in Glass :
The glass as it were
A brilliant star :
Lit from a blessed Tree,
An Olive, neither of the East
Nor of the West,
Whose oil is well-nigh
Luminous,
Though fire scarce touched it :
Light upon light !
God doth guide
Whom He will
To His Light :
God doth set forth parables
For men; and God
Doth know all things.

36. (Lit in such a Light)
In houses, which God
Hath permitted to be raised
To honour; for the celebration,
In them, of His name :
In them is He glorified
In the mornings and
In the evenings (again and again),—

39. But the Unbelievers,—
Their deeds are like a mirage
In sandy deserts, which
The man parched with thirst
Mistakes for water; until
When he comes up to it,
He finds it to be nothing :
But he finds God
(Ever) with him, and God
Will pay him his account :
And God is swift
in taking account.

40. Or (the Unbelievers' state)
Is like the depth of darkness
In a vast deep ocean,
Overwhelmed with billow
Topped by billow,
Topped by (dark) clouds :
Depths of darkness, one
Above another : if a man
Stretches out his hand,
He can hardly see it !
For any to whom God
Giveth not light,
There is no light !

Section 6

41. Seest thou not that it is
God whose praises all beings
In the heavens and on earth
Do celebrate, and the birds
(Of the air) with wings
Outspread ? Each one knows
Its own (mode of) prayer
And praise. And God
Knows well all that they do.

43. Seest thou not that God
Makes the clouds move
Gently, then joins them
Together, then makes them
Into a heap ?— then wilt thou
See rain issue forth
From their midst. And He
Sends down from the sky
Mountain masses (of clouds)
Wherein is hail : He strikes
Therewith whom He pleases.

The vivid flash of His Lighting
Well-nigh blinds the sight.

44. It is God Who alternates
The Night and the Day ;
Verily in these things
Is an instructive example
For those who have vision ;

45. And God has created
Every animal from water ;
Of them there are some
That creep on their bellies;
Some that walk on two legs;
And some that walk on four.
God creates what He will
To a way that is straight.

Quotations from S. XXV. Furqan. or The Criterion

Section 5

45. Hast thou not turned
Thy vision to thy Lord ?—
How He doth prolong
The shadow ; If He willed,
He could make it stationary ;
Then do We make
The sun its guide;

46. Then We draw it in
Towards Ourselves,—
A contraction by easy stages,

47. And He it is Who makes
The night as a Robe
For you, and sleep as Repose,
And makes the Day
(As it were) a Resurrection.

48. And He it is Who sends
The Winds as heralds
Of glad tidings, going before
His Mercy, and We send down
Pure water from the sky,—

49. That with it We may give
Life to a dead land,
And slake the thirst
Of things We have created,—
Cattle and men in great numbers.

53. It is He Who has
Let free the two bodies
Of flowing water :
One palatable and sweet,
And the other salt
And bitter; yet has He
Made a barrier between them,
A partition that is forbidden
To be passed.

54. It is He Who has
Created man from water :
Then has He established
Relationships of lineage
And marriage; for thy Lord
Has power (over all things).

Section 6

63. *And the servants of (God)*
Most gracious are those
Who walk on the earth
in humility, and when the ignorant
Address them, they say,
"Peace";

Quotation from S. XXVII. Naml, or The Ants

Section 5

63. Or, who guides you
Through the depths of darkness
On land and sea, and who
Sends the winds as heralds
of glad tidings, going before
His Mercy ? (Can there be
Another) god besides God ?
High is God above what
They associate with Him !

Quotations from S. XXVIII. Qasas, or The Narration

Section 3

25. Afterwards, one of the (damsels)
Came (back) to him walking
Bashfully. She said : " My father
Invites thee that he may
Reward thee for having watered
(Our flocks) for us. " So when
He came to him and narrated
The story, he said :
" Fear thou not : (well) hast thou
Escaped from unjust people."

26. Said *one of the (damsels) :*
" O my (dear) father ! engage
Him on wages : truly the best
of men for thee to employ is
The man who is strong and trusty "...

Quotations from S. XXX. Rum, or The Roman Empire

Section 3

20. Among His Signs is this,
That He created you
From dust; and then,—
Behold, ye are men
Scattered (far and wide) !

21. And among His Signs
Is this, that He created
For you mates from among
Yourselves, that ye may
Dwell in tranquillity with them,
And He has put love
And mercy between your (hearts) :
Verily in that are Signs
For those who reflect.

22. And among His signs
Is the creation of the heavens
And the earth, and the variations
In your languages
And your colours : verily
In that are Signs
For those who know.

23. And among His Signs
Is the sleep that ye take
By night and by day,
And the quest that ye
(Make for livelihood)
Out of His Bounty : verily
In that are Signs
For those who hearken.

24. And among His Signs,
He shows you the lightning,
By way both of fear
And of hope, and He sends
Down rain from the sky
And with it gives life to
The earth after it is dead :
Verily in that are Signs
For those who are wise.

25. And among His signs is this,
That heaven and earth
Stand by His command :
Then when He calls you,
By a single call, from the earth,
Behold, ye (straightaway) come forth.

26. To Him belongs every being
That is in the heavens
And on earth : all are
Devoutly obedient to Him.

27. It is He Who begins
(The process of) creation;
Then repeats it; and
For Him it is most easy.
To Him belongs the loftiest
Similitude (we can think of)
In the heavens and the earth :
For He is Exalted in Might,
Full of wisdom.

Section 4

30. So let thou thy face
Steadily and truly to the Faith;
(Establish) God's handiwork according
To the pattern in which
He has made mankind :
No change (let there be)
In the work (wrought)
By God.' that is
The standard Religion;
But most among mankind
Understand not.

31. Turn ye back in repentance
To Him, and fear Him :
Establish regular prayers,
And be not ye among those
Who join gods with God,—

32. Those who split up
Their Religion, and become
(Mere) Sects,—each party
Rejoicing in that which
Is with itself !

Quotations from S. XXXVIII. Sad (being one of the Abbreviated letters)

Section 4

49. This is a Message
(Of admonition) : and verily,
For the Righteous,
Is a beautiful place
Of (final) Return,—

50. Gardens of Eternity,
Whose doors will (ever)
Be open to them;

51. Therein will they
Recline (at ease);
Therein (at pleasure)
For fruit in abundance,
And (delicious) drink;

52. And beside them will be
Chaste women restraining
Their glances, (companions)
Of equal age.

Quotations from S. XLIV. Dukhan, or Smoke (or Mist)

Section 3

51. As to the Righteous
(They will be) in
A position of security,

52. Among Gardens and Springs;

53. Dressed in fine silk
And in rich brocade,
They will face each other;

54. So; and We shall
Join them to Companions
With beautiful, big,
And lustrous eyes.

55. There they can call
For every kind of fruit
In peace and security;

56. Nor will they there
Taste Death, except the first
Death; and He will preserve
Them from the Penalty
Of the blazing Fire,—

57. As a Bounty from thy Lord!
That will be
The supreme achievement!

Quotations from S. LIV. Qamar, or the Moon

Section 3

49. Verily, all things
Have We created
In proportion and measure.

50. And Our Command
is a but a single (Act),—
Like the twinkling
Of an eye.

54. As to the Righteous,
They will be in the midst
Of Gardens and Rivers,

55. In an Assembly of Truth,
In the Presence of
A Sovereign Omnipotent.

Quotations from S. LV. or (God) Most Gracious

Section 1

1. (God) Most Gracious !

2. It is He Who has
Taught the Qur-an.

3. He has created man :

4. He has taught him speech
(And Intelligence).

5. The sun and the moon
Follow courses (exactly) computed;

6. And the herbs and the trees-
Both (alike) bow in adoration.

7. And the Firmament has He
Raised high, and He has set up
The balance (of Justice).

8. In order that ye may
Not transgress (due) balance.

9. So establish weight with justice
And fall not short
In the balance.

10. It is He Who has
Spread out the earth
For (His) creatures :

11. Therein is fruit
and date-palms, producing
Spathes (enclosing dates);

12. Also corn, with (its)
Leaves and stalk for fodder,
And sweet-smelling plants.

13. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

Section 3

46. But for such as fear
The time when they will
Stand before (the Judgment Seat
Of) your Lord,
There will be two gardens—

47. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

48. Containing all kinds
(Of trees and delights);—

49. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

50. In them (each) will be
Two springs flowing (free);

51. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

52. In them will be Fruits
Of every kind, two and two.

53. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

54. They will recline on Carpets,
Whose inner linings will be
Of rich brocade : the Fruit
Of the gardens will be
Near (and easy of reach).

55. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

56. In them will be (Maidens),
Chaste, restraining their glances,
whom no man or Jinn
Before them has touched;—

57. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

58. Like unto rubies and coral.

59. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

60. Is there any Reward
For Good—other than Good ?

61. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

62. And besides these two,
There are two other Gardens,—

63. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

64. Dark-green in colour
(From plentiful watering).

65. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

66. In them (each) will be
Two springs pouring forth water
In continuous abundance :

67. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

68. In them will be Fruits,
And dates and pomegranates :

69. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?

70. In them will be
Fair (Companions), good,
beautiful;—

71. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

72. Companions restrained (as to
Their glances), in (goodly)
pavilions;—

73. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

74. *Whom no man or Jinn*
Before them has touched ;—

75. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

76. Reclining on green Cushions
And rich carpets of beauty.

77. Then which of the favours
Of your Lord will ye deny ?—

78. Blessed be the name
Of Thy Lord,
Full of Majesty,
Bounty and Honour.

Quotations from Sura LVI. Waqia or the Inevitable Event

Section 1·

10. And those Foremost
(In faith) will be
Foremost (in the Hereafter).

11. These will be
Those nearest to God :

12. In Gardens of Bliss :

13. A number of people
From those of old,

14. And a few from those
Of later times.

15. (They will be) on Thrones
Encrusted (with gold
And precious stones),

16. Reclining on them,
Facing each other.

17. Round about them will (serve)
Youths of perpetual (freshness),

18. With goblets (shining) beakers,
And cups (filled) out of
Clear flowing fountains :

19. No after-ache will they
Receive therefrom, nor will they
Suffer intoxication :

20. And with fruits,
Any that they may select;

21. And the flesh of fowls
Any that they may desire.

22. And (there will be) Companions
With beautiful, big,
And lustrous eyes,—

23. Like unto pearls
Well-guarded.

24. A Reward for the Deeds
Of their past (Life).

25. No frivolity will they
Hear therein, nor any
Taint of ill,—

26. Only the saying
" Peace ! Peace !.

27. The Companions of
The Right Hand,—
What will be the
The Companions of
The Right Hand ?

28. (They will be) among
Lote-trees without thorns,

29. Among Talh trees
With flowers (or fruits)
Piled one above another,—

30. In shade long-extended,

31. By water flowing constantly,

32. And fruit in abundance,

33. Whose season is not limited,
Nor (supply) forbidden,

34. And on Thrones (of Dignity),
Raised high.

35. We have created
(their Companions)
Of Special creation,

36. And made them
Virgin-pure (and undefiled),—

37. Beloved (by nature),
Equal in age,—

38. For the Companions
Of the Right Hand.

Quotations from S. LXXVI. Dahr, or Time or Insan, or Man

Section 1

5. As to the Righteous,
They shall drink
Of a Cup (of Wine)
Mixed with 'Kafur',—

6. A Fountain where
The Devotees of God
Do drink, making it
Flow in unstinted abundance.

7. They perform (their) vows,
And they fear a Day
Whose evil flies far and wide.

8. And they feed, for the love
Of God, the indigent,
The orphan, and the captive,—

9. (Saying), "We feed you
For the sake of God alone:
No reward do we desire
From you, nor thanks.

10. "We only fear a Day
Of distressful Wrath
From the side of our Lord."

11. But God will deliver
Them from the evil
Of that Day, and will
Shed over them a Light
Of Beauty and
A (blissful) Joy.

12. And because they were
Patient and constant, He will
Reward them with a Garden
And (garments of) silk.

13. Reclining in the (Garden)
On raised thrones,
They will see there neither
The sun's (exessive heat)
Nor (the moon's) excessive cold.

14. And the shades of the (Garden)
Will come low over them,
And the bunches (of fruit),
There, will hang low
In humility.

15. And amongst them will be
Passed round vessels of silver
And goblets of crystal,—

16. Crystal-clear, made of silver :
They will determine
The measure thereof
(According to their wishes).

17. And they will be given
To drink there of a Cup
(Of Wine) mixed
With Zanjabil,—

18. A fountain there,
Called Salsabil.

19 And round about them
Will (serve) youths
Of perpetual (freshness):
If thou seest them,
Thou wouldst think them
Scattered Pearls.

20 And when thou lookest,
It is there thou will see
A Bliss and
A Realm Magnificent.

21 Upon them will be
Green garments of fine silk
and heavy brocade,
And they will be adorned
With bracelets of silver;
And their Lord will
Give to them to drink
Of a Wine
Pure and Holy.

22. " Verily this is a Reward
For you, and your Endeavour
Is accepted and recognised."

Quotations from S. XCI. 'Shams' or The Sun.

1. By the Sun
And his (glorious) splendour;

2. By the Moon
As she follows him;

3. By the Day as it
Shows up (the Sun's) glory;

4. By the Night as it
Conceals it;

5. By the Firmament
And its (wonderful) structure;

6. By the Earth
And its (wide) expanse;

7. By the Soul,
   And the proportion and order
   Given to it:

8. And its enlightenment
   As to its wrong
   And its right;—

9. Truly he succeeds
   That purifies it,

10. And he fails
    That corrupts it !

Quotations from Sura CVIII. 'Kauthar, or Abundance.

1. To thee have We
   Granted the Fount
   (of Abundance).

2. Therefore to thy Lord
   Turn in prayer
   And Sacrifice.

3. For he who hateth thee,-
   He will be cut off
   (From future Hope).

My humble effort has been to present a codified compendium of those verses of the Holy Quran which are saturated with artistic qualities. This, according to literary critics, fulfil the standards of poetic diction. The highest form of poetry is the cultivation of a chastened outlook in life and the means of moral serenity as well as spiritual ecstasy. To conclude the selections from the Holy Book, I would lastly quote from the following lines from perhaps the most popular or epigramatic of the maxims of the Divine Faith:—

Sura CXII. 'Ikhlas' or Purity (of Faith)

1. Say : He is God,
   The one and only;

2. God, the Eternal, Absolute;

3. He begetteth not,
   Nor is He begotten;

4. And there is none
   Like unto Him.

(*Ref.*: "The Holy Qoran" by A. Yusuf Ali).

The Holy Quran teaches us that human thought and action should be directed towards ends that are objective and fulfil the purpose of life and human creation. Love of God is the fundamental object. Love among men and for the whole of mankind is also natural but the same should breathe piety and not be alloyed with licentiousness or tainted with sin in the cultivation and maintenance of human relationship. Love of nature is also held worthy of approbation because it provides recreation and delight to the aesthetic sense and carries within itself and impulse to remember and hold in constant reverence the Creator of the Universe with all that beauty which captures and enthrals the mind and heart at the very sight of its manifestation in any and every form and on all sides. In poetry, there should be an artistic expression of realism and truths. The compositions should not be full of delusions, pure fancies and hallucinations emerging from a diseased mind. There should be communication of lessons in moral character, modesty, humility and serviceability to the kindred.

The instinct of poetry is a natural gift and must be valued as such. According to the Holy Quran, Creation was for just ends and life was not merely an idle sport. All gifts are to be used in His service and so also the poetic gift with those who are fortunate to be endowed with the same. May of the themes and topics in the Book form part of poetic subjects with so much profundity and so many delicacies of ideas and expressions. The similitudes and parables, the similies and metaphors, the stories and allegories, the aphorisms and maxims all bespeak artistry of thought and expression. They provide the beaconlights to adventures in poetic expression. The melifluous rhthym of words used is a pointer to the importance of graceful diction. The cumulative effect is that one is carried off in spirits to a higher spiritual plane each time one turns to it in right earnest.

God is himself beautiful and loves Beauty. It is for this reason that Heaven or Paradise is the ideal tract declared as the promised land for eternal abode in bliss for the righteous ones, the "houries" are potrayed as the ideal beauty personified and the "ghilmans" described as the pride of pure, handsome youth for service to those granted salvation in the world here after. This imagery is rich and wholesome and has provided the inspiration for narration of beautiful objects in endless forms and variety.

The world of flora and fauna carries an attraction all its own. Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali in his Treatise on the Holy Book has analysed a few of the ideas associable with the concrete word "Garden" and the abstract term "Bliss." He observes in Appendix XII to Sura XIL " Al-Qamar" on pages 1466 & 1467 as follows:—

"9. In this our life, most of our sensations depend upon course-perceptions, and we can reduce the highest and noblest of them to terms connected with the Garden. To each of our five senses, in their most refined form, does the Garden Minister. For the eye, there is the

general green, with all the most delicate tints of green in the foliage, and the wonderful colours and shapes in flowers; the arrangement of paths and parterres, the various gradations of light and shade; the soft and melting beauty of clouds and mists; and the landscope views with cool rivers flowing underneath, or perhaps murmuring brooks. For the ear is the music of birds, the music of waterfalls, and the appropriate moonlight music of the human voice with or without the accompaniment of an instrument like a guitar. For the smell, there is not only the perfume of flowers but the more subtle scents of foliage, moisture or morning dew, or even garden soil. For taste and touch, the exquisite fruits, and for touch, the soft rose petals and the carpet-like lawns, besides the gentle kiss of breezes, all minister to the highest bliss and fulfilment that we can imagine through our senses.

10. We picture not only a Garden, but a Garden with revers or springs flowing beneath. This further enlarges our horizon. We can picture a landscape with banks, terraces, and sloping lawns, high ground, and valleys. What is the spiritual analogy for this? We must not imagine a dull place where all are engaged in perpetual psalmsinging. There will be differences in ranks, dignities, and tastes, according to each individual's growth and individuality, for that is the meaning of the persistence of Personality. And yet they will form one equal Brotherhood of Peace, one Society of Concord, there will be the four-fold classification according to the varying spiritual experiences gained in this life: (1) the Prophets who taught and led mankind; (2) the sincere Devotees of Truth, who supported the Cause in their person and will all their resources; (3) the Martyrs and Witnesses, who suffered and served; and (4) the righteous people generally those who led ordinary lives, but always with righteous aims. All these are united in one beautiful fellowship (see iv. 69, and n. 586). Or take that other classification indicated in lvi 27 and 11: the righteous generally, the Companions of the Right Hand, and those nearest to God in rank and dignity. The latter will have no interposing veils of Light to obscute the pure Light of God from them (Appendix VIII, and xxiv. 35); for, in Sufi language, they will have had the ineffable Bliss of seeing the "Divine Eyes". Possibly, the Companions of the Garden and Those on the Heights(vii.46) refer to the same two categories of souls. Whatever the precise interpretation of these mystic passages may be, there is no doubt that the retention of individual Personality in the Hereafter will mean Bliss of different kinds for each category.

11. How can we understand a psychological term like Bliss in general symbolical terms? If it is to convey the idea of satisfaction in any but abstract terms, we must have the symbolism of ordinary life, yet lifted up to ideas of refinement, delicacy and satisfaction. The acts of

eating and drinking are spiritualised and socialised. The choicest of meats, fruits and drinks which minister to the most sensitive taste will be provided. Dress of most artistic taste will add dignity to social intercourse, and there will be thrones and symbols of honour. There will be companionship individual companionship, companionship of equal age as well as general companionship. And those who loved in this life—mothers, wives, sisters, relatives, children, friends—will all add to our joy by their company in a transformed Love as superior to earthly Love as in the Garden of Heaven to an earthly garden. The condition of Faith and good Life is of course attached: for no disharmony can enter to mar the dignity of Heaven. (*See* xiii. 23 and n. 1837 ; xliii. 70-73, and n. 4668-70). Perfected Love will not be content with Self, but like a note of music will find its melody in communion with others.

12. Carnal sex has of course no place in Heaven, but sex in our constitution here has a mental and psychological value, which we can picture in our transformed and perfected Love above,——— the symbolism leads up from our ideas of beauty, grace, harmony strength, youth, and service as we know these things in their most refined forms here, to something even nobler and purer which no language can adequately describe.

13. The symbolism of Springs or Fountains and Cups of Drink or Wine is also worked out in a beautiful way in S. lxxvi (*Dahr*) Note that the Arabic word *Sharab* means either Drink or Wine, add in Sufi language, Wine or the Cup is the means of attaining spiritual Ecstasy. The Quranic language tempers Ecstasy with coolness, and associates a refreshing tonic, rather than an unbounded Ecstasy with spiritual fervour especially in the earlier stages of spiritual Bliss, when the soul is yet new to its new world. Just after the Great Event of Judgement is passed, the righteous soul enters the regions of Bliss, and is given to drink of a Cup from the mystic Fountain of *Kafur* (Lxxvi. 5, n 5835). Kafur literally means camphor: in symbolic language, it stands for all, that is wholesome, cooling and refreshing, soothing and agreeable. This is provided in unstinted measure. Then the yearing humility which filled the souls in the lower life gives place to a sense of possession: dignity and honour, typified by light silk garments, thrones, humility now shown to them by those around them (Lxxvi. 12-14). Then comes the setting of a Magnificent Realm, Typifying Divine Glory. A drink of a cup of Zanjabil, typifying warmth and zest to the taste, from a fountain called Sal-sabil ("Seek the Way"), festive clothes of ceremony and rich setting of a Royal Banquet of beauty and splendour, stand as symbols to show the approach to the very Presence Ineffable. Further, there is a Spring or Fountain *Tasnim*, which is only drunk neat by those Nearest to God: they alone can bear its fullest flavour, as they alone can bear

the full effulgence of the Glory of God: but every righteous man will have a taste of this Fountain mixed with His heavenly Wine, to the extent that his spiritual advancement is capable of enjoying it (Lxxx iii. 27-28).

14. For the highest Felicity in heaven is described to be in the nearness to God, in the Good Pleasure of God. *See* iii. 14-15.

15. This, then, is the Muslim idea of Salvation. It consists, not in being saved from the consequences of our sins by the sufferings or the merits of others, nor in *Nirvana*, or annihilation, or absorption,—but in the achievement of a perfected Personality, a Bliss that grows up within us, and does not depend on external circumstances. It may require the utmost effort or striving (Jehad) of a Lifetime or more. But it is the Supreme Achievement, the attainment of all desires, the Felicity *in excesis* (xliv. 57, and n. 4733).

16. The several aspects of it are summed up in two passages of singular beauty, xxxvi. 55-58, and lii. 17-28, ——— The first passage describes symbolically the *mise en scene* and the nature of the Bliss. It goes on to say that the happiness will not be solitary but will be shared in association, on thrones of dignity and peace. It further figures the psychological inner satisfaction, unconnected with outer circumstances, but reflecting the inner tastes of Personalities: "they shall have whatever they call for", the musician's heaven will be full of music; the mathematician's will be full of mathematic symmetry and perfection, the artist's will be full of beauty of form: the light will be one but its rays will be many. And it winds up with the Salutation of "Peace"! from God, Whose supreme glory is Mercy, Peace, and Harmony. In the second passage, these points are again emphasised but from other points of view. Not only will there be individual satisfaction and social bliss, but it will be shared by families or friends whom we held dear in this life, provided their life made them worthy of that association. While the memory of love and all good in this life will endure, it will be purged of all old fears and anxieties in the supreme realisation—the crown and climax of the whole—that God is the One Reality—the Good, the Beneficent and the Merciful. The souls in Heaven will realise in the highest spiritual sense the Presence of God." (Ref. : *Ibid*)

Literary art is not a mere expression of feeling and thought simpliciter. More than the outward sense is the deeper meaning which literary words and phrases, particularly poetic convey or are susceptible of communicating. In this connection, too, we would first advert to a few illustrations from the holy Quran.

(1) "Wa ma Yassawial bahran. Haaza azabun Furatun. Saeghun sharabun wa haaza milkhun Ujajun" (Alfatir)

From the mere narration of sweet water resources found existing in the globe, we infer running of lakes and their coglomeration within the ambit of one Continent, Say, the "Great Lakes" of N. America which comprise five in number *viz.* ERY, HURON, SUPERIOR, MISHIGAN and ONTARIO which the geologists ascribe to hold half of the world's sweet water reservoir. And prosperity to the inhabitants and commercial wealth flows from them and from this factor particularly because of compass of their geographical contiguity.

To our mind is drawn the picture next of the Big Rivers "such as MISSISSIPI, MISSOURI, AMAZON, NILE, CONGO, DANUBE and the like spread on an inter-continental plane. Along the banks of these water-resources settle big populations and thrive luxuries of trade and business.

(2) "Lau Nashau ja'alnahu Ujajan"

The outward meaning is that if God so wishes, he may change this sweetness of water into one sour in taste. This then turns the mind to those regions which contain liquid salt and all the Continents carry those resources too. A well-known example is that of the "DEAD SEA".

Now, the inner meaning is related not only to the direct influences on human affairs but also serves as a glowing point to the Grandeur and OMNIP OTENCE of the Almighty Creator.

(3) "Khash eena minazzulle, yanzaroona min tarfin khafee in"

This relates to the scene of confrontation by the infidels and the non-believers with the hell and their extreme sense of fear and perturbation. Really, it conveys a warning in advance to guard against the danger of apostacy and the great power which is the sole privilege of the Almighty.

(4) "Yauma yaqumurrho wal malaekatuhu saffan" ('An-Nisa')

and

(5) "wa Urezu Ala rab beka saffan"

These verses refer to the sense of order and discipline at its heighest zenith when the Almighty God makes His Presence felt. But still imagination can neither capture it in full nor define it.

(6) "Layatkal lamoon Illa man Azena lahur rahman"
('An naba')

This represents a scene of pin drop silence. Silence is something abstract and inanimate but it seems to speak. The significance sought is the collective presence of the Creator and the creatures.

(7) "Yakh rujuna minal Ajdase Ka an nahum jaradun muntashorun"
('Al-Qamar')

In contrast, this verse represents conditions of chaos and confusion but again the position is such that the scene can neither be captured in mind nor capture in words.

(8) "Tar mi bashar rin kal qasre ka an nahu jimalatun sufrun" ('Al-marslat')

The 'Kuffar-i-Mecca' are being informed that hell shall fling, all over, sparks of fire to high altitudes and when the flames spread and explosions fly in the atmosphere, it would appear that cam ls of yellow tan and skin are jumping and leaping up and down in huge concourse. The idea is to present a sense of awe and produce an effect for due understanding to ave t the chance of falling into a zone fraught with the highest danger and consequences of utmost fright. I would now come to illustrate from the sayings of the holy Prophet of Islam (P.B.O.H.) the poetic quality of words used as the vehicle of thought. The Prophet was not a poet because God had ordained for him the wide and hectic duty and mission to carry His divine message in cities and valleys far-flung from each other and observe simplicity of expression to make himself intelligible with ease which purpose cannot be served on a mass scale and with regularity and speed by poetic recitations and in versified form which also assumes ornate texture and cultivated practice. But since grace of thought and expression were natural for the holy Prophet, one finds that his phrases are full of poetic qualities. His religious preachings and moral precepts provide beacon light to the votaries and practitioners of literary art whose best and most appealing manifestation is the poetic output found in various languages of the world. I quote : –

(1) "Aa ilmu an nal Jannata Tahta Zilalussoouf".
(Bukhari)

The meaning is that let it be understood that Paradise is under the shadow of swords. The philosophy of thought is that for the cause of God and goodness, the rigours of fighting and the ordeals of bleeding wounds should courageously and cheerfully be accepted and faced by the believers in righteousn ss. The term "shade" sheds lustre to the ordeals involved and imbue the efforts with the colours of boughs in a spring-garden which ensure or afford an atmosphere of coolness and ease.

(2) "Al Madina tu Kalkir Yanfi khabasha wa yansabho tayabha"

This means that Madina is like a furnace which throws out impurities and brightens up what is pure. The depth of thought-content is that with the advent of Muslims in the holy city, the evil elements vanished and stood smoothered while the light of divine teachings and the auspicious presence of the believers brightened more and more the face of the whole are changing its entire complexion. Now this is to b a ppreciated that here is atomised the adage of brevity being the soul of wit. The holy Prophet (P.B.O.H.) rightly claimed that "I have bee endowed the ability for abbreviated and comprehensive speech" ('Uotiyato jawameul kalame'). I have found in Urdu and Persian verses a quality drawn after this pattern which proverbially goes by the name of "saada-o-purkar" (سادہ پرکار) and "sahl-e-mumtana" (سہل ممتنع)

(3) "Yanmasul Momino Kama, yanamasul milho fil mae"

The sense is that Momin melts like a salt but the import of the idea, actually speaking, is that in love for God, the believer is not frigid but moves into tears upon remembrance with its warmth or keeps himself activated into service of humanity upon inner force of realising his responsibility to all he owes in life.

(4) "Al Aqaribo kal aaqarib" (Relations are like scorpions)

The real pleasure lies in reading the form of expression in Arabic, and what is more is the frankness with which the widespread frailty of human character stands characterised since it is observed as a matter of common experience that the attitude and conduct of many relatives *inter se* are marked by back-biting, rancour, jealousy and ill-will. The true object of highlighting this human phenomenon is to show the path of moral reform and mental change for the better. Another aspect is that one should maintain correct behaviour towards one's relations for, otherwise, they shall react with all the venomous and piercing bite quietly and abruptly which is the characteristic of a scorpion. In fact in their act shall be an element of mischief consciously played, whereas, to the scorpion is attributed an activity which is automatic and part of its nature. It may well be that poet Saadi Shirazi composed his following verse inspired by this idea :—

"Naish-i-aqrab na az pae keen ast Maqtaza-i-tabiatash een ast"
(Gulistan-i-Saadi).

(5) "Kalametaan-i-habibataan-i-aliur Rahman Khafifataan-i-alal-lasan Saqilataan-i-fil-mizaan"

The meaning is that there are two phrases dear to Allah, they are light on the tongue and heavy in the scales, and those phrases are : –

"Subhanullahe-wa-behamdehi Subhanullah-hil-aazeem"

It is easy to appreciate that satisfation is provided here not only in the pattern of expression but the exposition of the two phrases is full of dramatic effect. In reply to a question about improvements in the language effected in discourse by him, the holy Prophet (P.B.O.H.) is stated to have observed that "Inallah azwojalla addabni, fa ahsana adabi wa nashaato fi bani Saad bin Bakr." (My linguistic training was given by the Almighty God Himself and this has made my literary taste grow in refinement more and more. Moreover, I have had my breeding in the eloquent environments of the tribe of Saad).

The above expressions sound so poetic and carry a literary appeal all their own. A few words and yet the meaning is so comprehensive, the devotion to the Almighty so complete and absorbing and the selection of thought so analytical and profoundly learned that nothing could be visualised and expressed happier and better.

(6) "Aslim Taslim" (Accept Islam and you shall get peace)

(7) "Innama Al Aamaal Bil Niyaat" (Actions are dependent upon intentions).

(8) "Al harb Khudatahun" (Battle is fought by tactics).

(9) "Saiyadil qaum-i-kahdime hu" (The nation's leader is its servant).

(10) "Kullo zee Niamatun Mahsoodan" (Every possessor of wealth is an object of jealousy).

(11) "Man la yarham la yur hama" (He who has no mercy is given no mercy).

(12) "Alkalemetul Tayyabato sadqatohu" (The grace of speech is also goodness).

Quran and Sunnah provide the standards in literary diction.

Among the post-Hijra poets, the great Caliph Hazrat Ali rose to be a great religious thinker and literateur. In his famous anthology ("Dewan"), he has versified his simple and sincere thoughts on moral values, social conditions and experiences based on mundane life. The dominant colour is his unbounded love for Allah and the holy Prophet Mohammad (P.B.O.H.) and unfailing devotion to the divine faith with its importance for this world and the massage of salvation in the world hereafter. The origins of mysticism are also traceable in his perceptions and expressions.

It would suffice here to quote a translated version of his 'naat' or 'qasida' (eulogy or hymn) in praise of our holy Prophet (P.B.O.H.). I had ventured to compose versified translation in Urdu from its Arabic text in 1973 subsequently published in "Hurriyat", a Karachi Urdu daily and now proceed to present its English translation in blank verse, as follows :—

1. (The salt of beauty was ingrained in his very nature,
And all grace was constituted within the Lord,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

2. (His beauty and grace have wooed the hearts of all,
The world over, his greatness carries name and fame,
May God's blessings shower on him !).

3. (And the full moon flickered and eclipsed
The moment emerged the light of the Prophet,
May Go d's blessings shower on him !).

4. (His holy body was moulded in balanced pattern
And the Almighty God had exalted his position very high
May God's blessings shower on him !).

5. (But he looked taller than one present by his side,
And there flowed from our Lord a river of generosity,
May God's blessings shower on him !).

6. (When someone walked along with him,
Assuredly, by God's grace, he stood taller in stature,
May God's blessings shower on him !).

7. (And from his face, reflected signs of
majesty and nobility,
and beauty and grace reached their zenith
in his attractive mien and height,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

8. (His hairs were black like the colour and flavour
of dark night,
His generosity added things extraordinary and great,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

9. (The hairs of the 'beloved of God' were countless,
They were curly and captivating
more than those of the rest among men,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

10. (Those hairs were combed in fine order, not entangled
Those hairs were black and attractive to the hearts,
They were locks curly and long,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

11. (When the hairs were hanging over the ears,
they never crossed down the ear-lobes,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

12. (No doubt, the complexion of our Lord was
bright and lustrous,
And his existence of munificence
was all goodness and bliss,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

13. (The august bone-edges of our Lord's physique
were imposing,
The facial features of our Lord
carried grandeur,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

14. (His hairs moved drawing a straight line,
Their sizeable front fell over his chest,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

15. (Their lower ends reclined towards the navel,
What a delight for the observers
to see them !
May God's blessings shower on him !)

16. (Both the shoulders and the chest
were broad,
and the worth and value of each one
was high in God's estimation,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

17. (Due to the hairs, the chest appeared adorned,
Not the whole but the middle was covered,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

18. (Also both the arms appeared embellished,
due to hairs,
And each of the ears looked well-suited
with the hairs,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

19. (His eyes made captives of our hearts,
I mean, his mere glances from their corners,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

20. (The black of the pupil's eye
was attractive in the extreme,
Jealousy for the jealous was inevitable,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

21. (The eye appeared crystal-clear like a stream,
rather, that eye was an object of high estimation,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

22. (Those eyes were expansive and piercing,
Those eyes were full of grace and
strikingly, similar, one to the other,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

23. (The stream of water is good for the lands,
but those eyes have shed benefits
on mankind,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

24. (The stream of water is fruitive for the fruits,
but those eyes enliven the men of vision,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

25. (Their whiteness, too, was a climax
of glory, undoubtedly,
And in them was imbued beauty,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

26. (Surely, that whiteness was interspersed
with rosy tint,
which, to the observers, was an object of delight,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

27\. (For charity, the palms of his hands
were outstretched,
He had kept them away from every vestige
of stinginess,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

28\. (Both the feet of our Lord had assumed
extended form,
Over the heavens, on the night of ascension,
they stood exalted,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

29\. (Beneath his feet lay acquisition of eminence,
And in his self, he was, from head to foot,
the very embodiment of greatness,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

30\. (When he walked, he moved speedily,
as though he was descending,
down a deep depression,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

31\. (No doubt, his complexion was pink and white,
And for his lovers, he was an object of delight,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

32\. (His forehead was broad and expansive,
And the heart was sunk deep in love of God,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

33\. (The eye-brows were, like the bow,
curved and drawn,
The talker felt delighted in his talks,
sweet and amiable,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

34\. (Each of the eye-brows was wholly distracted, apart
from another,
the two did not over-lap each other,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

35\. (A nerve, which is exalted in the eye of God,
ran between them,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

36\. (That nerve, in moments of fury, be stirred itself,
Not during the usual course of
his charitable demeanour,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

37. (And the nose, in the physical frame was
outstanding in beauty,
Long and thin, high and smooth
were its attributes,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

38. (The nasal structures were exalted,
and like those ears, no ears were heard of,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

39. (Assuredly, light rose from that nose,
Of course, that nose captivated the hearts
of the lovers,
May God's blessing shower on him!)

40. (Assuredly, the beard of our Lord
excelled all others,
Its colour was a veritable light of the heavens,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

41. (The density in hairs of the beard viz.
its thickness, is a great blessing,
And the beard is a benefaction for all,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

42. (Assuredly, both his cheeks were slender and tender,
and, light, positively, flowed from them both,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

43. (All the graces were centerd in his lips
because of his glories,
His moral distinctions had filled up
the world of humanity,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

44. (The openings of his mouth were set in moderation,
In each expression, those lips were an object
highly blessed,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

45. (The teet, for a certainty, were expansive,
And they were full of light, so truly bright,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

46. (Over and above others heads and shoulders above,
stood high our Lord's neck,
It exceeded and excelled them
in beauty, too,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

47. (The neck, in its shine, appeared like
chiselled gold,
In that neck, lay hanging the garlands
of dignity and honour,
May god's blessing shower on him !)

48. (Assuredly, the physique was strong, well-built,
For certain, the enemies stood destroyed,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

49. (Water, like stream, flowed from undreneath
our Lord's feet,
And his walk was the very source of kindness,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

50. (His walk was one of speed and alacrity,
That walk was in fulfilment of grace and excellence
May God's blessings shower on him !)

51. (Assuredly, the affairs of our beloved
were wide and extensive,
With him is attenuated the rejuvenation
and salvation of our hearts and souls,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

52. (Undoubtedly, in creation, he maintained
the poise of moderation,
And beauty and grace were well-composed in him,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

53. (In form and mien, there was no infirmity with him,
Nor was there any corpulence attributable,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

54. (And 'Hashmi' is the eulogiser of
our Lord's attributes,
and feels mortified at his separation
and physical oblivion,
May God's blessings shower on him !).

55. (He owes incapacity for a true appreciation
of those qualities
He admits his want of understanding,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

56. (Allah alone knows well his glory,
And He who knows about the mode of description,
May God's blessings shower on him !)

57. (O, my Creator, grant him ("Hashmi") recovered health
in sickness,
And with Thy favour, do away his sin and wrong,
May God's blessings shower on him!)

The above poem is a master piece of religious devotion and graceful diction. Beauty of human personality and pangs of separation permeate the texture, and the diction represents in ideal for adventure in self-expression. There is no trace of sensuality or want of moral dignity. Good many Muslim poets in succeeding generations followed this line whatever be their subjects or styles or forms of pattern followed according to individual tastes and needs of different times down the ages. Here and now I may clarify that if many have not lived up to such ideals, it is more the environment than anything else that accounted for deflections, aberrations and defaults found committed in their productions. After the period of the "Exalted Caliphs", successive regimes like those of the Omayyads and the Abbasides represented rulerships of monarchs and despots most of whom were involved in struggle for power and neither State-patronage was the order of the day nor could the practice of holding poetic symposiums in public become a practical proposition. It would be my endeavour hereafter, consistent with the demand of the subject in hand, to highlight by and large such extracts from the works of Muslim poets who felt inspired by ideas of religion and morality and whose compositions and narrations do not reflect obscenity but bring out elements of beauty in man and nature or inspire feelings of hope and courage or create a sense of love and pathos with no need for regrets.

Hazrat Ali and other Islamic thinkers and writers served the cause of linguistic progress through synthesis and formulation of codified expressions. After all, language is the vehicle for expression of poetry as well, with its composite features of rhythm, metre and syntax. Linguism is stated to comprise the following aspects or constituents :—

(*i*) Phonetics and Phonemies dealing with sound.

(*ii*) Morphology relating to formation of words.

(*iii*) Semantics pertaining to meanings.

(*iv*) Etymology providing for analysis.

and (*v*) Syntax covering proper or articulate expression.

Suffice it to state here that the contributions made served the cause of poetic literature in particular.

There are four persons from amongst the 'Quraishites' who acquired particular fame for recitation of verses of famous poets *viz.* (1) Makhrima bin Naufil (2) Abul Jahm bin Huzaifa (3) Huwatab bin Abdul Uza and (4) Aqil bin Abu Talib. This also was useful contribution.

I now proceed to refer to the leading poets and their contributions following a narration and appreciation *in seriatim* to the best of my capacity.

A. During the last days of the Holy Prophet (P. B.O.H.)

I. Kaab bin Zuhair bin Abi Sulma----He enjoyed a leading position among Makhzarmi poets, and it is his "Qasida" "Baint Saad" which became very popular and the Prophet upon listening from him gave him as a reward his own 'chadār'. The following is a simple translation from some of those verses :—

(1) I am told that the Prophet has
threatened me with death
But from him, I trust forgiveness.

(2) Please bear with me,
that Being Who gave you the Qoran
as a gift, may keep you on the path of guidance,
The Qoran which carries instructions and details.

(3) Catch me not on the talks of my traducers,
In regard to me, more talks have let loose
(which bear no relation to reality).

The following two couplets bear on a piece of moral advice, *viz.* : —

(1) Evil talk turns back on the talkers
with the same rapidity
as flows the water down a depression.

(2) When a man invites others
to criticise him,
people stoop to condemn him right or wrong.

II. Hassan bin Sabit Ansari is a celebrity. He became famous even when a non-Muslim. As a convert and a companion of the holy Prophet (P. B. O. H.). He memorised verses from the Qoran and this stood him in good stead with his verses getting more meaningful, words more felicitous and style more appealing. Upon the Prophet's will to knit a nation, he expressed himself, *inter alia* thus :—

(1) The leaders of the nation are his kith and kin
come from the stock of 'Banu Fahr',
He has shown the ways for the people
whereon they set their paces.

(2) Each of such people whose intention is
based on fear of God,
abides by his ways and the works
started by him.

The following two bear on some home-truths elegantly expressed :—

(1) He is a fortunate one
who remains safe from the tongue of people
morning and evening.

(2) Many a time, fortitude gets lost in value
due to poverty,
and so also, wealth and affluence
provide cover to foolishness.

III. Nabegha al jaadi was also a poet of days of Ignorance but rose to be a poet of Islam. His name was Hassan bin Qaes and he belonged to the tribe of Banu Jaadah bin Kaab bin Rabiah. He lived up to the ripe old age of 180 years and died in Asbahan. He is stated to be the first in using the word 'beloved' as a hint ('kinaya'). He is famous for many types of verses including those characterising horses. Among his massive and variegated works, his "Qasida" for the holy Prophet (P. B. O. H.) is considered pre-eminent, and the same was recited before him which was a matter of the highest fortune. Some of the verses are quoted as under :

(1) If such a calamity befall
which you do not have the power to offset,
don't be perturbed,
but, before the Will of God,
exercise patience and perseverance.

(2) Thanks giving to Allah
that I have sought audience before my Lord (holy Prophet)
at a time when thou hast been appointed with revelations
and began to recite the Book shining
like the milky way.

(3) Our nobility and good fortune
have made us scale the high sky of exaltation and honour
and we are aspirants for still greater height.

It is noteworthy to recall here that the holy Prophet upon hearing the first line of the above last couplet, enquired as to what was the position above the sky. Aba Laila replied " O, the Prophet of Allah ! "Paradise". "Then, the Prophet gave him the benediction observing" Insha' Allah, that is to say, if it pleases Allah, you shall reach there." Upon conclusion of this Qasida, the Prophet (P. B. O. H.) spoke of good wishes for him and praised his poetic genius.

B. During early periods following the death of the holy Prophet :

I. Omar bin Abi Rabiyya was considered to be among the leading poets of his times amongst the Quraishites. He belonged to the tribe of 'Bani Mahzoom'. He is considered to be the founder of 'Romanticism' in Arabic poetry. He is at his best in lyrical compositions writing after the pattern of what developed into "ghazals" in oriental literature. For his talents, he gained recognition from compeers like 'Jarir' and 'Fazardaq' His verses gained popularity among singers because of its fascinating ideas and charming verbal settings. Of course, this roused the umbrage and raised the brow of many men in circles of sobriety

and moderation. However, he did not often come to the verge of obscenity or moral turpitude. An element of excessive liberties has been attributed to his thoughts, and 'Jarir' observed in an interesting manner about the same that earlier poets also craved for similar fulminations but they missed it and they felt contented by speaking of things no more than pedestal of the beloved '(Dayar--i-mahbob'). His versified letter to Surraiya, as an exemplar of his style, is reproduced below :—

(1) This is a message from the mad one
who is said, grief-striken and forlorn
writing to you from his home,

(2) His eyes are weeping tears with a sense of longing,

(3) And the fire of love which is inflaming
Fibres of his being
is forbidding him sleep
with ease, during night.

(4) With one hand, he is holding his heart
with the other, he wipes his tears.

In the following verse, he gives a delicate portrayal of speed in journey of rider on the hurricane-like steed :—

On the back of the horse,
is not visible the shadow of the rider
proceeding fast
but for the shadow cast by
the yamanite coverlet.

II. Fazardaq whose name was Hamman bin Ghalibul darmi hailed from the tribe of Banu Tamim. In eulogic poetry, he was pre-eminent compared to the three Omayyid poets. He was born in 19 A.H. and was bred at Basra in formative years among well-placed kinsmen and learned men of the community. He became the disciple of his own father in the art and diction of poetry. Taken to Hazrat Ali, the great personage advised his father to teach him the Qoran which would be better for him. Fazardaq took these words to his heart so much so that once he took a vow that until he memorised the holy scriptures, he would not take off the chains he voluntarily put on his feet. He actually did so. His poetry has a deep religious colour. He was liberal enough even to write praises of those whom he did not like much. He was also adept at composing denunciatory verse ('[illegible]') which he considered to be symbolic of true feelings about men who deserved condemnation establishing in public eye an image of a bold man who minces no words where occasion demands. He faced fierce competition with and rivalry from 'Jarir', and this was also because many people created controversies for their own interest. Of course, he lapsed into the fault and frailty of hitting below the belt a number of times. His selected poetry

is the hall-mark of his literary genius. At a stage, he came very close to Hasan Basri and feeling penitent for sins committed turned into a sincere religious and a devotee of the holy Prophet's family ('Ahl-i-Bait'). It is illuminating to recall here the incident of his conversation with Hazrat Imam Husain on the latter's journey to Iraq. Fazardaq, in reply to the query, candidly and meaningfully observed. "The hearts of the Kufians are with you but their swords are with the enemy" How true was the reading done by an imaginative soul and how eloquent was the phraseology chosen !

His "Qasida" for Hazrat Imam Zainul Abidin is famous for its literary grace as well as his strength of character because he wrote what he felt in his heart of hearts and showed no fear in drawing the caricature or exposing the hypocrisy and jealousy nursed by Hashsham, the heir-apparent to the throne who also appeared simultaneously on pilgrimage to Mecca. I hereby render those lines as under :—

(1) Yes, he is the one
with whom is familiar the land of 'Batha',
who is well-known to the people of'
house of God, the 'harem' and outside the 'harem'.

(2) he is the progeny of
the best among mankind,
is pious,
purified from all defects
and is a famous personality.

(3) O, Hashsham! your asking as to who he is
cannot derogate his exaltation since
the personality you refer to as a stranger
is known to the entire Arabs and Persians.

(4) When the 'Quaraish' see him, they say
all goodness is exhausted in him.

(5) He keeps his glances downwards and
before his awe, all eyes get lowered,
But for moments of smile,
none dares addressing him.

(6) In his hand is a stick
whose sweet smell is besmeared with
the scent of handsome leader's palm of hand,

(7) When he comes to kiss the stone and walls of Ka'aba'
it seems that the stone shall, due to palm's smell,
keep him closetted.

(8) The shroud of darkness is shred into pieces, thus,
by the glimmer of his countenance, as
with sunrise, bleakness disappears.

(9) His connection is with such group
love for whom is the essence of faith,
and to spite whom is apostasy
and whose nearness is the means of salvation.

(10) If we count forth men of piety,
he is their 'Imam' (leader),
and one asks about the best one
on the face of the earth,
it shall be said:
These are the men who are the best of all
people in this world.

In conclusion, the poetry of 'Fazardaq' is a variegated work of art. The dignity of expression, the glow of words, inter-pose of terms with their multiplicity and entity, the antedivulian and the modern, the proximity and the distance afar, the ingenuities in composition or textures and style as we l as the depth of meaning found in the verses of the great poet make him a class by himself. There goes a proverb that "if there was no poetic work of Fazardaq, one-third of dictionary would have gone waste". He lived up to the ripe old age of 100 years and passed away in 110 A.H.

III. Jarir bin Atiya binul Khatifa is another outstanding poet who is adept both in lyrical compositions and lofty eulogies. He came from the stock of 'Bani Yarbooa' which is a branch of Banu Tamim. He was born in Yamama and groomed in Badia where he also started his poetry. He took envy of Fazardaq due to the latter's growing fame and mounting accomplishments. Those were the days when poetry was the vehicle thought best for declaration of one's respectability and high water-mark of personal qualities. Competition between the two went on for a decade or so. He became a panegyrist to Hajjaj and then Abdul Malik who bestowed on him many favours and rewards. Such distinction roused envy or rather jealousy of a host of adventurers in the field, and it is said that Fazardaq played the leading role of putting up against him scores of compeers who were all trounced by him with the honourable exception of the other two talented, *viz.*, Fazardaq and Akhtal. Jarir also died six months later the same year when Fazardaq left this world.

Many a literary critic accord a place of distinction to Jarir for the range of subject and taste in his poetry. As a writer of lyrics, there is more grace and delicacy of thought and expression in his verses. Among the best of romantic pieces are the following :—

(1) Undoubtedly, the sparkling and vivacious eyes have
killed us
and then, they brouthed no life again in us the killed.

(2) They throw down the wise men in such manner that
he is turned wholly insensate
although they are among the creatures of God,
the weakest creatures.

Among other inspiring thoughts are the following illustrations :—

(1) And I aspire from you immediate benefit,
and the human spirit always dies after a thing
of early gain.

(2) Day and night which alternate time and again,
at last, serve to cause separation among friends.

IV. Al-Kumait named Kumait bin Zaidul Asadi Alkufi was the greatest among Hashimite poets. Born in 60 A. H. and bred among his own tribesmen Bani Asad, famous for eloquency in speech and boldness of actions, he also imbibed knowledge about the history literature and traditions of the Arabs from the Bedouins. He was schooled and received good education in religion and culture. He wrote poetry in young years but did not make it a means of his livelihood. For sometime, he used to teach the children in a mosque of Koofa. Having composed good many verses and attaining self-confidence in the development of standard regarding the output, he approached Fazardaq seeking advice about their publication if approved. He was applauded for his efforts, and then he got his work published under the title of "Hashimiyat" mostly comprising his "Qasida" in tribute to the "Ahl-i-Bait" (Prophet's family). This become his life-long mission, and, many a time, he placed himself in the jaws of death from hostile element. When once placed in prison, he escaped and succeeded in reconciliation with the Omayyad ruler Hashsham bin Abdul Malik and even wrote a "Qasida" for him as also for the Governor of Iraq Khalid bin Abdullah al Qasri Yamani. He died in 126 A. H.

Kumait was a profuse and prolific writer of poetry. His learning and prestigious memory enabled him to recall verses of the old masters with ease, and he also adopted as a part of his verse some words or parts of compositions from other poets risking accusation of stealing away the thoughts of original thinkers. Kahlful Ahmar was one such severe critic that as it may, the grand position of Kumait in his own right is not open to challenge. The dominant tone of his poetry is its religious fervour and moral flavour.

The following are a few quotations from his anthology "Hashimiyat "and seem to contain germs of mysticism besides infusing a spirit of moral philosophy:—

(1) We talk like the great Prophets but our actions, as usual, are like men of days of ignorance,

(2) We have become so enamoured of the world that we do not wish to forsake it, although involved, we also meet with death and even get killed,

(3) And we are so tightened to its apron-strings as though it is our protector in calamities and haven of our safety,

(4) I, despite love for life and its longevity, am seeing that it is, every day, behaving with us with sobriety and we are taking it as fun and frolic.

In addition to the above great poets, a few more attained prominence in times, contemporaneous or soon following. Akhtal, a Christian, was a favourite of the Omayyad kings and nobles in whose praises, he wrote many "Qasidas" and earned rich rewards and influences. Then, worthy to count in the panel are the names of Abdur Rahman bin Hassan, Jamil, Nasib, Ahwas and Kaseer. Some women also figured as good poets like Laila Alakhilia who carried high respects in the 'durbar'. I confine myself to a brief narration about them.

Akhtal was no religious devout and was more of a free thinker, and it is said that he had spurned the offer of Abdul Malik for conversion to Islam on the plea that he could not afford prohibition of wine as an addict and turn into a teetotaller. The tolerance of the ruler accounted for declaration that Akhtal was the "poet laureate" of the Omayyads. The chief attribute of his poetry both in praise and denunciation of others, is his sharpness of perception and wit & irony of expression. Jarir was a victim of his attacks but Fazardaq received encomiums. Among others to suffer cuts from his tongue were Abdur Rahman bin Hassan and Saeed of Bani Taghlab, a sardar of Koofa.

Kaseer was a poet of romance and extended the cult of the earlier few romantic poets. This is special branch, and his is thus a distinctive contribution to this field. His love for Uzza not only became the talk of the town but was carried like a story far and wide. He has recited the tale himself which reminds one of the incident of Hazrat Yusuf and Zulaikha with the difference, no doubt, that in the latter case, the woman was attracted and not the man. Kaseer says that once at the time of Haj, while he was cutting something with a knife, a beautiful woman stood at the doorway of his tent and he was so lost in the gaze that he cut his own hand piercing the boon and causing severe bleeding unmindful of the act and the agony for a time until his beloved could not resist the temptation of coming to him and wiping the wound with her own robes. This was no other than Uzza who, incidentally, upon return to her own camp with blood-stained clothing, had to pay for this love of labour by receiving a beating at the hands of her husband.

Naseeb was a slave but was a natural poet. He got access to Abdul Aziz bin Marwan, and in the very first visit impressed this Governor of Egypt so much that the latter not only applauded his poetry but spoke to his own poet laureat Eman bin Faryam highly, set him free, gave him rewards and made him a poet of his 'durbar'. In Kufa, Bashir bin Marwan awarded him ten thousand Dirham, and in Damascus, Abdul Malik accorded him a high position and invited him to his big feasts with personal associates and dignitaries of the realm. Abdullah bin Jafar acclaimed his poetry as full of life. He write a number of elegies

in obituary of Abdul Aziz, and it was so impressive that Abdul Malik's grudge against his deceased brother was washed away and he wept for him like a child. His verses were very popular among ladies, and many singers used to recite them in private and public gatherings.

Jameel also earned renown. He came from a great family and commanded a grand and graceful personality as a heritage from his forbears. The literary critics of Madina count him as the greatest poet both of the days of ignorance and Islam. Be that as it may, Jamil is the most outstanding among romantic poets of his times. His beloved was a young girl named Subaina who provided for him a source of inspiration. There were certain incidents out of it but none attributed any liaison between them. One may say that this was a case of Platonic love and not an infatuation leading to carnal satisfaction. In fact, Jamil himself is stated to have told his beloved that his love was as innocent as hers and he craved for maintaining the same without taint or stain. This impressed her rela tions so much that they felt inspired by the nature of their true relationship, and their displeasure was compromised or obviated. It is, however, possible that as a crowning phase of his love, Jamil, in his heart of hearts, wanted to gain the hands of his beloved as a life companion. It is for this reason that efforts having failed even through an emissary like poet Kaseer also a friend of Subaina's father and the girl getting married elsewhere, he almost went mad and roving about like 'Majnoon' in the wilderness for a time. This loss led to the gain of a vast treasure in romantic poetry. He is a king in lyrics. His characteristic is that he wrote no "qasida" and even Walid bin Abdul Malik, once a travelling companion, failed in his attempt to influence him, and the poet recited a verse only in self-adulation.

It would seem illuminating to add that the tradition of pre-Islamic era among the Arab literature was continued down the ages. One or more conniosseurs and devotees acted as publicists for the poet or poets of his choice. Like story-sellers, they narrated events about the events and achievements of their favourite hero and kept his name alive by reciting his verses. In this category fall renowned men of their times like Marba in respect of Jarir and Fazardaq, Mohammad bin Sahl in respect of Al-Kumait, Saleh bin Sulaiman in respect of Zur ramma and Zur ramma himself in respect of Ar'Rai. Not all were poets themselves but enjoyed eminent positions as literary critics if I may say so. A mass of such literature was thus produced and is traceable up to the days of the Abbasides. It is also no wonder that much tendentious material crept in, and following a sort of criterion for 'ahadis' process has to be followed for sifting grain from the chaff for the sake of authenticity in literary heritage. Among other illustrious names are those of Hatia, Hotba bin Khishram, Abu Shafqal, Obaid brother of Rabia bin Hanzla and the two poets Jamil and Kaseer.

Not allowing this humble contribution of mine to become unwieldy out of time, place and space, I would now touch upon the period covering the years 756 A. D. to 1002 A. D. when the other branch of the Omayyads held sway in

Spain. It was another dynasty founded by the survivor Abdur Rahmanal-Dakhil who defeated the Berber Amir Yusuf and seized from him the reigns of suzerainty and later defied the authority of the then Damascus ruler. He was himself a poet and the literary art received patronage and flourished at the hands of his successors *viz.* Hashsham the First, Alhakm the first, Abdur Rahman the second, Abdur Rahman the third, Alhakm the second and Ibn Abi Amir. The brief details run as follows :—

I. Abdur Rahmanal Dakhil as the founder of the new State in Europe also showed talents in many works of ingenuity including architecture and gardening. For the palace of Rassafa, an ornamental guild of flower and foliage was spotted out. His good taste brought forth seeds from distant lands. These were of the best quality, and soon, hanging gardens sprang up almost equalising the glories of "Jannut-e-Shaddad" or another paradise on earth. There stood before him a palm-tree, and once, fascinated by its majestic appearance, in a philosophic vein, he composed the following verses carrying the under-tones of mysticism :–

In the middle of Rassafa, came to be seen
a palm tree which,
marooned from cities abounding in grovelands,
fell into the land of the Maghreb.
I spoke to the tree of date-palm
' As a stranger, one separated and
involved in pangs of severance from
the kith and kin, the family, thou, too,
suffers a fate like mine :
Thou hast grown up in such a land
where thou art a complete alien.
In being thrown out from the homeland
and forced into refuge, thy example is
also like myself.
May the clouds of spring
enrich thee, with those rains of blessing
and waters of purity
from whose wholesome springs,
skies to the earth are seen brimming and flourishing.

II. Zaryab came from Baghdad to Spain invited by Alhakm but his advent came off during the rule of Abdur Rahmanal Nasir who, as expected, gave him all honours. Zaryab was a versatile genius, and he is also famous as a poet in his own right. Highly intelligent and a great artist particularly as a singer, he, like Yahya bin Yahya, was among the chief advisers of the State. New fanciful victuals and sartorial niceties are also among his strong points of inventive achievements.

III. Abu Alial Qaliwas also a migrant in 330 A.H. of the days of Abdur Rahman al Nasir lived a full life and breathed his last in Cordova in 356 A.H. Renowned world figures of the time in the domain of learning like Ibnul Qutia a d Alzubaidi have extolled his high talents. "Al amaali" is considered a great book in Arabic literature.

IV. Abul Aala Sa'ad was a contemporary of Abu Alalqali and, as his rival, claimed greater knowledge but, in fact, his main contribution is in the field of poetry. He was once put to the test upon challenge thrown before the king by his other rival Abul Tarif. He composed and recited extempore a "Qasida" before a big audience in the 'Durbar' after a highly artistic pattern of expression. He called the bluff and gave a bluff to his traducers. The congregation was unanimous to applaud him spontaneously and loudly. As a man, he suffered from pedantic show a good deal but even a great historian like Ibn Khalkan has recognized him to be a poet of high talents.

V. Ibnul Qutia whose name was Abu Bakr Ibn Umar was Spanish by birth with royal blood running in his veins. He belonged to the 'durbar' of Abdur Rahman al Nasir and his son Alhakm, the second. His writings are classics and he esteemed highly other contemporary men of learning like Abu Alial Qali. As a man of character, he was free from the sordid ways of jealousy and back-biting. He was a linguist and wrote a book. He know much of astronomy and astrology. A small book from his pen called "Original history of Spain" is treated as very comprehensive, highly informative and a treatise in research into the conquest of Spain. His poetry is of high order.

VI. Ibn Hiyan besides being a historian and the writer of books on Seerat and history particularly the one called "Almuqtabis" on Spain published in 50 volumes was also a poet of eminence.

VII. Abul Qasim Ibrahim bin Mohammad Zakariya was a leading poet and also wrote translation with commentary ('sharah') of 'Diwan-i-Mutabanni'. Born in 352 A.H., he died in 441 A.H.

VIII. Ibn Ebar is a famous Ommayad poet and is credited with an anthology of verses ('Diwan') which brought wide renown and respectability.

IX. Yahya bin Hakm was a poet who gained popularity among all sections of the population. He saw the days from Abdur Rahman bin Moaviyaal Dakhil up to Abdur Rahman binal Hakm. He was very independent, bold and witty intellectual.

THE JIZYAH TAX

A MISUNDERSTANDING REMOVED

What is Jizyah ?

The word Jizyah needs some explanation. There are some writers who have deliberately misinterpreted the Jizyah tax. Even some Muslim scholars feel shy while explaining this tax and often tend to give an apologetic interpretation rather than calling a spade a spage. The wrong impression created by them only gives three alternatives in the Shari'ah for the non-Muslims namely, 'Islam, Jizyah tax or the sword' which is wholly untrue. Islam is a missionary religion like some other missionary religions and hence it is a duty of every Muslim to preach it to others in order to establish Peace between man and man and man and his Creator. The sword is not to be used all of a sudden but the Shari'ah requires that all peaceful means of settlement with enemies be exhausted first; and sword is only taken as a last resort. War is only sanctioned by the Shari'ah only in order to repel tyranny and aggression and is to be terminated as soon as aggression is thwarted.

Jizyah, in reality, means a reasonable tax that a non-Muslim citizen is required to pay.

If a Muslim ruler fails to protect the life and property of non-Muslim citizens he has to return the Jizyah. They will pay Jizyah just as the Muslims will give an obligatory Zakat, the poor-due. The payment of Jizyah will absolve a non-Muslim from the payment of Zakat although he will still enjoy the right to share the Zakat money if he happens to be poor, and needy like any other Muslim. Moreover, he will be absolved from any compulsory military service which hazard a Muslim citizen cannot escape once he is called upon to do so. The amount of Jizyah must be reasonable. So that it can easily be paid by non-Muslims. It will be interesting to note that Caliph Uthman fixed equivalent to one shilling (12p) per month for the rich, 6p for the middle class and 3p for the ordinary people. These destitutes were exempted from payment.

Imam Abu Yusuf, the illustrious pupil of Imam Abu Hanifa, has given some details of the Jizyah tax in his famous work Kitab al-Kharaj. The Jizyah is to be paid by males only. Women and children are exempted from the payment. The amount of Jizyah was to be paid once a year only, and could also pay value instead of cash if they wished to. The very poor people and destitutes who received charity, the blind people and those who were out of work or were chronically sick or crippled, lunatics, the monks and very old people who had no wealth or any source of income were exempted from the payment of the Jizyah tax.[1] Prophet Muhammad said that the taxes must not be levied beyond the capacity of any non-Muslim : "Whoever oppresses a non-Muslim subject or taxes him beyond his capacity, then I shall be the opposite party to him in the litigation."[2]

As we have seen before, the non-Muslim subjects of Islamic state are exempted from any military service and conscription. But if a non-Muslim wishes to render any such service voluntarily, he will be exempted from the payment of Jizyah tax.[3]

The obedience to Shari'ah is a duty to every Muslim and its prescriptions are universal and require submission from all Muslims. Just as a Muslim is bound by Shari'ah and cannot behave as he likes, a non-Muslim citizen must also share in all the activities for the welfare of the state and should not jeopardise the activities launched for the betterment and well-being of the state. Just as a Muslim shares rights and obligations with every other Muslim everywhere, regardless of nationality, so does the non-Muslim citizen.

If a Muslim ruler fails to protect the life and property of non-Muslim citizen, he must return the Jizyah collected from them. The illustrious example in this regard is that of the companion Khalid bin al-Walid who was given the title of Saif-Allah, the sword of Allah, and who was an outstanding military genuineness of Islam. As the historical records show, Khalid returned to the Chirstians of Homs (Emesa) their taxes because he had failed to protect their city since he did not possess the power to repel the attacks of the Christian Byzantine Emperor Heraclous on Homs. Khalid said to them while :

> "We accepted (the Jizyah) as a token of your good-will and in return for defending you, but (in this), we have failed (you)."[4]

Another example is that of Salah al-Dinal-Ayyubi, popularly known as Saladin, who returned the Jizyah collected from the Christians of Syria when he was compelled to withdraw from there. The Jizyah, it should be borne in mind, is not a right of conquest given by Shari'ah to the victor over the vanquished, but is rather a benefit in exchange for benefit and a compensation for a fulfilled task. Another point of interest in the matter of Jizyah is that in lieu of their payment, the non-Muslims will also be exempted from compulsory military duty for the defence of the state against enemies. This hazard will solely be on the shoulders of Muslims. Jizyah, from this point of view, is not only a symbol of loyalty but it is also a contributory compensation for exemption from military service, and that is why it is imposed only on males, capable of military service.

The Jizyah, in other words, is a tax levied on non-Muslims mainly as the counterpart of Zakat. As Caliph Ali once pointed out, "we receive Jizyah from them to protect their property and their person so that their property becomes as sacred as our own property and their blood like our own blood."[5]

Jizyah, according to Imam Muhammad bin Idris al-Shafi'i, is a tax (Daribah)[6] which is imposed by the Islamic government on non-Muslim citizens in return for their complete safety and protection[7] both from external and internal threats.

The Jizyah tax is to be accepted from all non-Muslims, whether belonging to Ahl-al-Kitab (people of the Book) like Jews and Christians as well as Zoroastrians,

Buddhists, Hindus, Saraceans, Magians, etc. etc. The Muslim jurists say that all non-Muslims are to be considered as belonging to one and the same category for the purpose of Jizyah tax.[8]

The Jizyah was neither heavy nor unjust. The Jizyah tax during the time of the Prophet amounted to ten dirhams only yearly which represented the expenses of an average family for ten days.

Although non-Muslims were exempted from any military service, but if any non-Muslims did participate in the defence of his country, he was exempted from paying the Jizyah for the whole year. Similarly if a non-Muslim rendered an important service to the cause of the country, he used to be exempted from paying Jizyah for the life time which almost equated any meritorious service to the military service required of every able bodied Muslim in the days when tribal wars, were too frequent and the pagan Arabs were out and out to give a crushing blow to Islam and Muslims. During the Caliphate of Umar bin al-Khatab, the second Caliph of Islam, a non-Muslim Egyptian laid before the Muslim government the project of clearing and re-digging the ancient canal named Nahr Amir al-Muminin from Cairo down to the Red-Sea which would facilitate the transportation of food-stuff from Egypt to Medina, the capital. Sayyidna 'Umar exempted him from Jizyah payment throughout his life.

JIZYAH IS OBLIGATORY BUT SYMBOLIC

The theological question that arised is whether or not the imposition of Jizyah tax is obligatory on the part of Muslim rulers over the non-Muslim subjects in the modern time ? The answer is that it will depend squarely on the circumstances of the country concerned. If the Oil-rich Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia can do away with a number of taxes which are payable by the citizens in other countries they may as well exempt the Jizyah. Jizyah is a tax like any other tax and can be waived whenever it is deemed necessary. The Holy Prophet himself expressed the wish of exempting all the Copts from paying the Jizyah tax. When the Prophet's son Ibrahim, the son by his coptic wife Mariyah Qitiyyah, died the Prophet said : "Had Ibrahim survived, I would have exempted all the Copts from paying the Jizyah tax as a mark of esteem for the mother of Ibrahim." Had the Jizyah been obligatory to be imposed on non-Muslims, the Prophet would have never expressed his desire of exempting all the Copts.

When we cast a glance at the History of Islam, we come across many rulers who had abolished the payment of Jizyah by non-Muslims. Islam, in the modern world, has spread in every nook and corner of the world and many of them live in non-Muslim countries If Muslim States impose Jizyah today, there will be an ugly reaction from non-Muslims towards the Muslims living in secular and non-Muslim State. I do not think that there exists any Muslim State or Kingdom where Jizyah is collected from their non-Muslim citizens. But it is an irony of fate that although Jizyah is not imposed on any non-Muslim in any country of the world, the critics of Shari'ah still dwell upon the Jizyah which they consider as a discrimination against the non-Muslims.

Whenever a truly ideal Islamic State comes into existence, the Jizyah will be an obligatory imposition as it is commanded by Allah in the Holy Qur'an in the following verse :

" قاتلوا الذين لا يؤمنون بالله واليوم الاخر ولا يحرمون ما حرم الله
ورسوله ولا يدينون دين الحق من الذين اوتوا الكتاب حتى يعطوا
الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون "

" Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which has been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge in Religion of Truth, of the People of the Book, until they pay the Jizyah with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.[9]"

Jizyah, as we have seen before, is only imposed on those who do not accept the Religion of Islam, but are willing to live under the protection of Islam, and thus are tacitly willing to submit to its ideals being enforced in the Muslim State, while enjoying their personal liberty of conscience. Since there is no amount fixed for it, it was merely symbolic[10]—an acknowledgement that those whose religion was tolerated, would not in their own turn interfere with the preaching and progress of Islam. As a token of willing submission there is no fixed amount of Jizyah as such, and the amount is decided by the ruling authorities of the time [11] with fair play and justice. Although Imam al-Shafii suggests one Dinar per year (about 40p sterling) but adds that it would differ according to the time of ease or difficulty and the capacity of those on whom it is imposed.[12]

At times, one begins to wonder after cataloguing the rights of non-Muslims under Shari'ah and comparing them with the parallel rights granted to Muslims that in many respects the non-Muslims are much better off. As for example, like the non-Muslims paying the Jizyah tax, Muslims pay an obligatory State-tax called Zakat not merely 2½ on their surplus property by male, female and young or old Muslims but also on their herds of animals like cows, camels, sheep and goats. The non-Muslims do not have to pay any tax on their animals.[13]

Similrarly, al-Riba (Usury) is forbidden in Shari'ah. But the non-Muslims are not debarred from lending money on interest and doing any trade which involves interest. The Jizyah tax, therefore, seems to be a technical device for procuring social equilibrium in the communities subject to different systems of law among the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of any Muslim State.[14]

RESPONSIBILITIES OF MUSLIMS AFTER ACCEPTING JIZYAH

Without a strong practical character, any religion is likely to pass into mere idealism, and it will cease to exercise influence on the practical life of man. The precepts of Islam, which inculcate duties towards the Creator and duties towards man, are based on that deep knowledge of human nature. Justice to one and all is the keynote of the precepts of Islam. The following incident will clearly show

As to how the early Muslims and the Rashidun Caliphs were mindful of their responsibilities towards all their subjects, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. Once Caliph 'Umar was passing along a street where he saw some one asking for charity (begging). He was old and blind. Umar tapped his shoulder from behind and said: "To which community do you belong to ?" He replied: "I am a Jew." He (the Caliph) asked: "And what has constrained you to the condition I see you in ?" He replied: " I have to pay the Jizyah and I am poor and old." On hearing this Caliph 'Umar took him by the hand and led him to his own house and give him something from his private coffers. Then he sent word to the cashier of the Bait al-Mal (Public Treasury) "Look after him and people like him. By Allah, we should never be doing justice if we eat out of his youth and leave him deserted in his old age. Caliph 'Umar then exempted him from the payment of the Jizyah tax and also exempted other like him.[15]"

The famous General Khalid bin al-Walid informed Caliph Abubakr immediately as the conquest of Al-Hirah as to how he implemented the Jizyah tax and exempted the poor, old and handicapped non-Muslims from the payment of Jizyah. He said: "I counted the male population. They were seven thousand. On further examination, I found that one thousand of them were permanently sick and invalid. So I excluded them from the imposition of Jizyah ; and those susceptible of the tax thus remained six thousand people......I have accorded them that any old man who could no more earn his livelihood for his weakness, or who should otherwise be afflicted by a calamity, or one who was rich but became poor to the extent that he requires the charity of his co-religionists, I shall exonerate him from the Jizyah and he had his family will be supported by the Muslim treasury (Bait al-Mal) so long as he lives in Muslim territory.[16]"

NOTES

1. Cf. Imam Abu Yusuf, Kitab al-Kharaj, pp. 69—72.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Tabari, Abu J'afar Muhammad bin Jarir, Tarikh al-Tabari, vol. 1, pp. 2497—2665.
4. Azzam, Abd al-Rahman, The Eternal Message of Muhammad, New York, 1965, p. 62.

   for further details *see* Mabsut, vol. 10, pp. 78-79 ; also Fath Al-Qadir, vol. 4, pp. 827-828.
5. Ibn Qudmah, Al Mughni, vol. 8, p. 445 ; also of Al-Kasani, Al-Baqiwal Sanai, vol. 7, p. 111.
6. Al-Shafii, Al-Umm, vol. 4, p. 120.
7. Al-Mawardi, Al-Akham al-Sultaniyyah, p. 143.

8. Al-Shaybani, Al-Asl, vol. 11, pp. 141-142 ; also al-Sarakhsi Sharh al-Kibar, vol. 4, p. 139 ; Al-Mabsut, vol. 9, p. 119.

9. Qur'an, ch. 9, verse 29.

10. Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur'an : Text Translation and commentary, Beirut, 1968, p. 447 (note 1281).

11. Al-Tusi, Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin al-Hasan, Masal al-Kilaf, Government printers of Iran (undated), vol. 2, p. 200.

12. Al-Shafii, Al-Umm, vol. 4, p. 122.

13. Al-Sarakhsi, Sharh Siyar al-Kabir, vol. iv, p. 293.

14. Cf. Hamidullah. M. MUSLIM Conduct of State, Lahore, 1973, p. 115.

15. Cf. Imam Abu Yusuf, Kitab al-Kharaj, pp. 69—72.

16. Abu Yusuf, Kitab al-Kharaj, pp. 84-85.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT OF IBN KHALDUN

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

".... As regards the science or philosophy of history, Arabic literature was adorned by one most brilliant name. Neither the classical nor the medieval Christian world can show one of nearly the same brightness. Ibn Khaldun (A. D. 1332—1406), considered simply as an historian, had superiors even among Arabic authors, but as a theorist on history he had no equal in any age or country until Vico appeared, more than three hundred years later. Plato, Aristotle and Augustine were not his peers, and all others were unworthy of being even mentioned along with him. He was admirable alike by his originality and sagacity, his profundity and his comprehensiveness. He was, however, a man apart as solitery and unique among his co-religionists and contemporaries in the department of historical philosophy as was Dante in poetry or Roger Bacon in science among theirs. Arabic historians had, indeed, collected the materials which he could use, but he alone used them....".[1]

" Ibn Khaldun.... achieved in a single acquiescence of less than four years length out of a fifty-four years' span of adult working life, a life-work in the shape of a piece of literature which can bear comparison with the work of Thucydides or the work of a Machiavelli for both breadth and profundity of vision as well as for sheer intellectual power. Ibn Khaldun's star shines the more brightly by contrast with the foil of darkness against which it flashes out ; for while Thucydides and Machiavelli and Clarendon are all brilliant representatives of brilliant times and places, Ibn Khaldun is the sole point of light in his quarter of the firmament. He s indeed the one outstanding personality in the history of a civilization whose social life on the whole was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.[2] In his chosen field of intellectual activity he appears to have been inspired by no predecessors and to have no kindred souls among his contemporaries and to have kindled no answerings spark of inspiration in any successors ; and yet, in the Prolegomena to his Universal History he has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place. It was his single brief acquiescence from a life of practical activity that gave Ibn Khaldun his opportunity to cast his creative thought into literary shape".[3]

The above-quoted two passages call to mind certain questions : Who was this man ? Why is he eulogized in such a manner, while remaining almost unknown outside the select circle of scholars in this field ? What were his intellectual achievements ? *What is this "new science" it is claimed he founded ?* and *lastly, what relevance, if any, can his thought possibly have for the world today ?* This work sets out to take a brief look at the life and work of Ibn Khaldun, with view to analysing it in the attempt to answer these questions. In seeking to answer the last three questions the views have been called upon, of a number of

scholars, eminent in this field, especially in chapters three and four. Ibn Khaldun's work has been subject to a certain amount of polemic, which is aired in this work, and a selection of the concurring or differing views of scholars—both Muslim and non-Muslim—is presented.

Chapter two presents a brief biographical sketch of Ibn Khaldun as also the background to his foundation of the "new science". Chapter three discusses the various aspects of this science, and presents the views of various scholars on the work of Ibn Khaldun. Chapter four focuses on one particular concept—that of *'Asabiyyah*—which I believe is central to Ibn Khaldun's whole thesis. Comparisons are made between this concept of Ibn Khaldun, and those of Durkheim and Marx which seem to me to be related (either directly or inversely) to this concept. They also seem relevant to Ibn Khaldun's thought, as well as being similar in the vastness of their scope, and in the importance attached to them by their respective authors. This comparison is necessarily limited to the two above-mentioned names, although I am aware that a number of notable and prominent scholars could also have been included, chief amongst them being Ferdinand Tonnies, whose "Gemeineschaft and Gesselschaft"[4] are closely related concepts. Regrettably, the length of the present work does not permit of this inclusion, however desirable.

The conclusion seeks to draw together some of the strands explored in this study. It analyses the last of the questions asked at the ouset, and attempts to place Ibn Khaldun within the modern frame of reference, whilst not losing sight of the historical context of his life and work. This may appear to be a contradictory exercise. It is, however, a necessary exercise if Ibn Khaldun's intellectual contribution is to be appreciated in this, the last quarter of the twentieth century, and if it is to be recognized as having some relevance today.

Chapter Two

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND BACKGROUND TO FOUNDATION OF SOCIOLOGY

'Abd-ar-Rahman Abu Zayd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Khaldun was born in Tunis on Ramadan 1, 732 A. H., corresponding to May 27, 1332 A. C. He wrote an exhaustive autobiography entitled " At-Ta'arif b'Ibn Khaldun wa Rihlatuhu Sharqan wa Gharban" (MS.—Cairo Library), which furnishes not only a record of the events of his life, but also his character and, according to him, his "psychological disposition".

He belonged to an Andalusian family which had emigrated from Andalusia to *Tunis in the middle of the seventh century A. H., a few years before Seville was recaptured by the Christians*[1] *in 1248 A. C. He traced his origins back to the Yemanite Arabs of Hadramaut, relying on his genealogy which he thought was* insufficienitly documented in between, for he believed that a generation spanned thirty-three years, not fifty, as Arab genealogists traditionally thought. Doubt

has been cast on his Arab origin, some scholars putting forward the suggestion that he was of Berber origin (cf. Enan, 1941). However, in the Muqaddimah he shows some antagonism and hostility towards Arabs while praising Berbers, which would seem to indicate that if he said his origins were Arab, they most probably were.

Whatever the case may be, he undoubtedly belonged to a prominent, aristocratic and influential family, which for several centuries enjoyed great prominence in the political leadership of Muslim Spain. His immediate ancestors were all accomplished courtiers and scholars, and were attached to the court of the Hafsid rulers in Bona and Tunis. In Muslim Spain his ancestors attained the authority of the Vizierate and other high civil and military posts. Their fortunes rose and fell with the wars waged in that land. After emigrating to North Africa the Banu Khaldun attached themselves to the courts of the local rulers, and regained their authority and opulence.

Tunis was at the time the centre of learning in North Africa, aided by some of the most notable scholars who had emigrated from Andalusia. Ibn Khaldun received the benefit of the very best teachers of the Quran (which he memorized, studying different modes of recitation), Hadith, exegesis, jurisprudence, grammar, rhetoric philology, poety, logic, mysticism, philosophy, and the sciences as well as other social sciences. He had contact with many cultural influences. This contact and his own intellectual versatility prevented him from specializing in any of the established discipline.

He continued his studies until the age of 18. In the Great Plague of 749 A. H./ 1349 A. C. (which he calls "the sweeping plague"), he lost his parents as well as most of his professors, and in which a large number of the inhabitants of Tunis perished. Soon after, he entered public life through a government career—the ruler of Tunis summoned him to the post of Seal Bearer to the Sultan. He was about 20 years old at the time. He very soon became dissatisfied with conditions in Tunis, and left for Fez in Morocco, where he entered into the service of the Sultan as a scholar whom the Sultan appointed a member of his academy—the Council of Ulama. He shortly afterwards became a secretary and seal bearer. He accepted this latter post reluctantly "because it was not among the posts occupied by his ancestors ; it was inferior in dignity and importance" (Enan, op. cit, p. 13).

Ibn Khaldun resumed his studies and completed his education under the most eminent scholars of the day. For him this interval was the stage of poetry and rhetoric. He was noted for his poetry and prose in North Africa and in Andalusia. However, his involvement in political intrigues led him to beimprinsoned for almost two years. After his release he suffered vicissitudes of fortune, and finally decided to emigrate to Spain, permission having been refused him to return to Tunis. He arrived in Granada in early 764 A. H./late 1362 A. C., and was warmly welcomed by the Sultan, whom he had helped during the Sultan's exile in N. Africa.

In 765/1364 the Sultan sent him as ambassador, at the head of a mission to Pedro the Cruel, King of Castille, for the purpose of concluding a peace treaty with him. The King held his court at Seville, and so Ibn Khaldun was able to visit the city of his ancestors. According to Dawood, "Pedro honoured him highly and offered to take him into his service and to restore to him his family's former property"[2] But Ibn Khaldun declined the offer. Speaking of this refusal Brockelman says : "But he was wise enough to remain true to his own society"[3]

He returned to Granada, where his growing influence provoked jealousy, and so when he received an invitation from his old friend and prison companion, Abu Abdullah, who had become the new Hafsid ruler of Bougie, he returned to N. Africa, and was made prime minister. N. Africa was going through a great deal of strife between warring dynasties, and the next nine years were "the most precarious in Ibn Khaldun's restless career". (Rosenthal, op. cit., p. viii). He became disgusted and embittered by the changing fortunes of his political life, and decided to devote himself to scholastic work. He was able to achieve this aim several years later. The powerful tribe of Awlad 'Arif extended its protection to him and his wife and children. (He had been married circa 754/1353). He retired to the palace fortress of Ibn Salamah, near Tujin, in the Province of Oran, south of Constantine, west of Tunis. He and his family spent four years there, in peace and quiet, for the first time away from politics, court intrigues, travel and military expeditions.

He was 45 at this time. He started work on his Universal History—the *Kitab al-'Ibar* (*vide* glossary). According to his autobiography, by 779/1377 he had finished the *Muqaddimah* within a period of 5 months, "with words and ideas pouring into my head like cream into a churn." [4] It was to take him four more years to complete his monumental work, for which he required to carry out far more academic research than was possible at the fortress, and so in 780/1378 he left Oran and returned to Tunis, where, although he had to enter into the Sultan's service, he devoted himself almost exclusively to study, teaching and research. Before his return to Tunis, twenty-six years after having left it as a youth of 20, he had already completed the histories of the Arabs, the Berbers and the tribe of Zanata, and now embarked upon research of the hisories of the rest of the world.

In 784/1382, he was granted permission to leave Tunis, in order to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was never to return. Enan makes the following comment : "Thus Ibn Khaldun concluded an eventful and most adventurous life in North Africa. This, undoubtedly, was not a brilliant epilogue, nor did it satisfy his lofty soul. There is no doubt that Ibn Khaldun was the greatest politician and thinker Africa and Andalusia knew in the eighth century A. H. Those brilliant qualities and talents which raised him to the summit of events and made of him an outstanding personality in the history of North Africa and its political evolution for a quarter of a century, and which helped him to arrive at leadership and great influence among those desert tribes, always noted for stubbornnes and

rough disposition, were apt to elevate him to a high, stable position in the states and courts of that age....He served all the Berber states, often enjoying the advantages of leadership and authority and often suffered the adversities of disfavour and the bitterness of imprisonment and the dangers of death" (op. cit., p. 427).

En route to Mecca he stopped at Cairo, where his fame had preceded him. Copies of the Prolegomena had been circulating there; its style, content and originality were being much admired. Students and scholars "flocked from all parts to see him". (*ibid.*, p. 48). He settled in Cairo and lectured at the al-Azhar university for some time. He was welcomed and honoured there, and lectured on Hadith, jurisprudence (especially of the Malikite Rite), as well as on his theories on society (*i.e.* he was the first lecturer in sociology—appropriately enough at the oldest university in the world), politics, economics and the related subjects deal with in the Prolegomena. According to his Egyptian biographers, he was a brilliant lecturer, had vast knowledge and "a charming exposition". He "astounded his listeners with his logic and fluency". (*ibid.*, p. 49).

The Egyptian Sultan Barquq began to take an interest, and welcomed him. He appointed Ibn Khaldun Professor of Malikite jurisprudence at the Qamhiyah College. Ibn Khaldun thus entered the ranks of the Egyptian "ulama" (*vide* glos sary). In 786/1384 he was appointed the Grand Qadi (Chief Justice) of the Malikite Rite for Cairo. "This important office he filled with great distinction, removing many of the abuses which had long disgraced the administration of justice in Egypt." (MR, 1967, p. ix).

He himself says: "I assumed the charge of this honourable post, and spared no effort to apply impartially the laws of God, undeterred either by influence or menace, treating both parties equally, setting up the right of the weak, ignoring intercession from both sides, taking care to verify evidence and to be sure of the honesty of the witnesses, for the good among them was mixed with the bad, while the authorities abstained from criticising them and were indulgent towards their abuses, for they falsely pretended to be the proteges of the powerful, most of them *mixing with* princes, and were professors and imams, feigning to be just and therefore the princes considered them honest, and helped and intervened for them before the judges. It was a difficult problem; abuse spread owing to fake evidence; I discovered some of the cases and inflicted severe punishment ... I proceeded with vigour and resolution .. ignored intercession of nobles and high officials,"(5) which was against the tradition among his colleagues who accepted it. Indignation arose around him on all sides , he was severely criticized and many intrigues were started against him at court.

Ibn Khaldun's own account is corroborated by his Egyptian biographers, so there is no reason to doubt it. His promotion to this post—one of the four posts considered the highest in the state—was "the prelude to the storm which

raged around him and the disputes which troubled the serenity of his life, undermined his influence and removed him, more than once, from his post". (Enan, op. cit., p. 51).

In the same year he suffered a great personal misfortune; his entire family died when the ship that was bringing them from Tunis to Egpyt was wrecked near the Alexandrian harbour, killing all on board. He lost not only his family but also all his worldly belongings that were accompanying them.

In Cairo, the fact of his being a "foreigner" weighed against him, as also did the fact of his rapid advancement in the Sultan's favour. He incurred great rivalry, jealousy and envy, which led to spite and thence to intrigues against him. This led to disfavour at court, and soon afterwards, in 787/1385, only a year after his appointment, he was removed from his post. But in his autobiography he emphasizes that this removal was in accordance with his wishes. He resumed his studies, and continued as lecturer at the College. The Sultan also appointed him, shortly thereafter, Professor of Malikite jurisprudence at another College. In 789/1387 he received the Sultan's permission and bounty to enable him to proceed to Mecca for the pilgrimage. He returned in 790/1388, and was appointed to two of the most eminent posts of the day: lecturer on Hadith at Sarghatmash College and Sheikh (head) of the Beiber Sufi Institute.

At the same time, Ibn Khaldun was involved in the political upheavals taking place. He attempted and succeeded in establishing relations between the Sultan of Egypt and those of North Africa. In 801/1398, after an interval of fourteen years, he was reinstated in his post as Chief Malikite Judge, but in the 8 years that followed, he was removed and reinstated no fewer than five times.

In 803/1400, the Tartars under Timur (Tamerlane) invaded Syria, and the Egyptian Sultan marched north to repulse them, taking along Ibn Khaldun and other judges and scholars. Ibn Khaldun was taken against his wishes, but once he had joined the expedition he asked, of his own accord, for a meeting with Timur. This meeting took place during the siege of Damascus, and is described in detail by him in his various works. They discussed history, law, religion, politics and Ibn Khaldun's sociology. Much more important from a historical point of view was the discussion on current affairs as a result of which Ibn Khaldun persuaded the chiefs and scholars of Damascus to surrender, which they did, Ibn Khaldun occupying the position of chief mediator. He continued to meet Timur, even after the terrible storming of Damascus, which was against the terms of the armistice treaty. This friendship secured safe passage for himself and the other judges, chiefs and officials, from Damascus to Egypt, where he returned after two months.

Thereafter his political/judicial fortunes kept fluctuating, but he was holding the post of Chief Justice at the time of his death, at the age of 78, on Ramadan

26, 808 A.H., corresponding to March 16, 1406 A.C. In those times, and by any standards, it was held to be a brilliant and most eventful life, leaving behind it a rich legacy of thought.

In a somewhat contradictory comment on the life of Ibn Khaldun Brockelmann says: "In the ups and downs of politics among the rulers of North Africa he always succeeded, by leaving a sinking ship at the appropriate moment, in retaining an influential position ... Death brought to an end a life which, though full of abrupt reversals, was buoyed up again and again by the benevolence of fortune." (op. cit., p. 216). These two statements seem to cancel out one another. It should not really be necessary to remind Brockelmann that he should not superimpose twentieth century European ideas on to fourteenth centruy Arab ones. It is an entirely disparate comparison which is bound to show up Ibn Khaldun in the least favourable light.

This point will be further discussed in subsequent chapters, but the following passage from Charles Issawi should help to clear up at least one of its aspects: speaking of the attempt to evaluate Ibn Khaldun's character he says : "but there is one charge from which he must be absolved. His constant intrigues and changes of allegiance have led certain scholars to accuse him of a lack of patriotism. But, as has been rightly pointed out, patriotism in the current sense of the word was as unknown to medieval Islam as to medieval Christendom, and Inb Khaldun could leave the service of one kinglet and enter that of another with no more qualms than his contemporary, the chronicler Froissart. To one fatherland Ibn Khaldun always remained true, Darel Islam, or the area of Muslim civilization." (1950, p. 6).

Whatever scholars may think of his personal character there is no dissension regarding his work. It is almost universally admired and praised, as much for its content as the originality of that content. The point regarding originality will subsequently be further discussed. The rest of this chapter deals with the background to the foundation of sociology.

Ibn Khaldun's personal career provided him with a vast store of first-hand information and knowldege of all aspects of life in North Africa, Spain and the Middle East. This knowledge was encyclopaedic in detail and magnitude. It embraced not only the political, historical and religious aspect, but also the social, geographical, ecological, economic, philosophical and psychological aspects. Ibn Khaldun saw the inter-relation of all these and attempted to formulate some rational and coherent pattern out of the mass of facts he assimilated during his eventful lifetime. He was the author of various other works, but the Kitab al-'Ibar remains his opus magnum.

The work is divided into three parts, each of which is subdivided into several books :

(1) The Muqaddimah (which consists, in fact, of Ibn Khaldun's original Preface and Book I of his History), in three volumes;

(2) The history of the Arabs, and that of the Nabateans, Syrians, Persians, Jews, Copts, Greeks, Romans, Turks, Franks ;

(3) The history of the Berbers and of the Muslim dynasties of North Africa.

The Muqaddimah has been declared by all scholars in the field to be far more important than Parts 2 and 3, yet it is doubtful whether sufficient study has been made of these parts, owing to the lack of translations from the Arabic. The first complete translation of the Muqaddimah was a Turkish version in 1730. A complete French translation was published in 1862—1865 by de Slane. A sectional English translation, by Issawi, was published in 1950, while the complete English translation by F. Rosenthal was published as recently as 1958. There is no English translation of the rest of the History. It can thus be seen that Ibn Khaldun is a recent importation into the West and, even so, only Arabists are able to appreciate the vastness of his scope.

The Muqaddimah is made up of six sections preceded by a long introduction which includes significant information on, and an almost complete departure from traditional historiography, an appreciation of the various approaches to history, the different kinds of errors to which historians are prone, and some suggestions as to the causes of these errors.

It can be regarded as the earliest attempt made by any historian to discover a pattern in the changes that occur in human political and social organization. It is "rational in its approach, analytical in its method, encyclopaedic in detail ...discarding conventional concepts and cliches and seeking, beyond the mere chronicle of events, an explanation —and hence a philosophy — of history." (MR 1967, p. ix).

The first section deals with society in general, its various kinds, and its geographical distribution. The second takes up nomadic societies, including "savage tribes". The third is a discourse on states —dynasties, the caliphates, the spiritual and temporal powers, and political ranks. The fourth section discusses non-nomadic societies, cities and provinces; the fifth deals with crafts, ways of making a living, and other economic activities; and the sixth with the various classifications of sciences, and methods of learning and teaching. It is thus seen that it follows a logical arrangement, but inspite of being concerned with these practical matters, it consists largely of psychological, sociological and economic abstractions and their elucidation. Therefore it is difficult to allocate certain parts of it to any particular field, and on this question of "the field" great controversy has surrounded Ibn Khaldun's work amongst recent European, Arab and other scholars. This point too will be subsequently analysed.

" In rejecting idle superstition and denouncing uncritical acceptance of historical data, Ibn Khaldun adopted a scientific method totally new to his age, and used a new terminology to drive home his ideas. That he was fully aware of the originality of his thinking and the uniqueness of his contribution is illustrated by the many references he makes to his 'new science'." (MR 1967, p. x).

Five hundred years later, at the beginning of the nineteenth centruy, European scholars joined with the Turks in studying Ibn Khaldun. "Many ideas discussed in the European West long after Ibn Khaldun's time were found, amazingly enough, not to be as new as had been thought, but to have been known, in their rudiments at least, to the north-west African of the fourteenth century, who founded a 'new science' in his Muqaddimah. Ibn Khaldun has been claimed as the forerunner of a great many Western scholars, both major and minor. A. Schimmel, 'Ibn Cheldun' (Tubingen, 1951), p. xvii, lists Machiavelli, (6) Bodin, Vico, Gibbon, Montesquieu, Abbede Mably, Ferguson, Herder, Condorcet, Comte, Gobineau, Tarde, Breysig and W. James. He has been compared with Hegel, and there is hardly any thinker with whom he might not be copmared. Such comparisons may help to evaluate the intellectual stature of the person with whom Ibn Khaldun is compard; certainly they suggest a lesson in scholarly humility. But they do not contribute much to our undsrstanding of Ibn Khaldun."(7)

It will be noticed that the last sentence of the above-quoted passage refers to general comparisons. I hope to show in Chapter four below that it is not invalid to make specific comparisons, and that they *can* contribute to our understanding of Ibn Khaldun as well as of those with whom the comparison is made.

As far as comarisons are concerned, attempts have also been made to compare him—to his detriment—with other notable Muslim thinkers, especially Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), and al-Ghazzali (Algazel). These three had a much deeper insight into metaphysical and religious problems, and their influence over Europe was immense, but Ibn Khaldun, while profiting from their philosophicul speculations, greatly surpassed them in his understanding of social problems. More than any of his contemporaries, whether Arab or European, he tackled the kind of social problems which preoccupy us today. "His positive outlook and matter-of-fact style render him particularly congenial to the modern mind, brought up on a tradition of scientific method." (8)

Ibn Khaldun is distinguished from the rest of his predecessors by the fact that he considered history as a science worthy of study—not as narrative merely recorded. He wanted to write history in the light of his new empirical method of explanation and reasoning, which led him to establish a new kind of "social philosophy", for which he coined a new term—*al-Umran*, or *al-Ijtima' al-Bashari* (العمران او الاجتماع البشرى) *i.e.*, sociology, or the conditions of human society. (9)

He himself describes this new science, the characteristics of which are to "explain all the phenomena and conditions appertaining to it, one after the other ...This science is new, with strange orientation and immense interest." (10) He says that he was led to it by private research. It is not a subject dealt with by any previous writer except, perhaps, the ancients whose works perished and are, therefore, unknown to us. Thus, he is the first to discovsr it and lay down and explain its principles. These principles are discussed in the subsequent Chapters.

Ibn Khaldun appeared on the horizon when the Islamic empire, having passed its zenith, was showing signs of decay all around. This is one of the factors which kept his legacy in oblivion until the last two centuries. Some of his ideas may sound strange and peculiar today, but ex-post vision is no vision at all. We, with hindsight, should not look back at him and mock. Being wise after the event is very easily done, but to be the first in the field, to be an innovator and originator, to talk about subjects and disciplines previously unknown, to withstand the pressure of ignorance, rivalry and jealousy—that is the great thing. The greatness of Ibn Khaldun lies as much in *what* he wrote, as in *when* he wrote it.

The subsequent chapter also seeks to investigate the method he adopted in explaining his "new science of human association". This will be a difficult task not only because of the widely differing views expressed by eminent writers on the subject, but also due to the caution necessary in dealing with a method (that is admitted by all to be an advanced one) against a fourteenth century background. It was this composite and novel method used to introduce his sociology that gave Ibn Khaldun's approach its scientific feature.

The following is the view of his contemporary Egyptian scholar, al-Makrizi, on the Prolegomena : "It is a unique work of its kind, an accomplishment too difficult to realize; in fact it is the essence of knowledge and science and the result of a sane mind. It reveals the truth of things, events and news; it explains the state of the universe and reveals the origin of all beings in an admirable, plain style' ' 11)

Chapter Three

1932 marked the six hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ibn Khaldun. It marked also an increase in the speed with which he emerged from the obscurity of centuries. There are a number of reasons for this obscurity, some of which will be discussed below. Since the nineteenth century in Europe, and the eighteenth in Turkey, Ibn Khaldun's fame has been steadily increasing.

"But while scholars are agreed in assigning to him a distinguished place among historical thinkers, and some have no hesitancy in accepting his own claim to be the discoverer of the true scope and nature of history, or at least regard him as the real founder of the science of sociology, the educated public has been slow in admitting that such titles bestowed on an Arabic writer could be otherwise than greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless, the very suggestion that we shall have to go from Europe to Africa, and beyond Vico, Bodin, and Montesquieu to Ibn Khaldun for the origin of the modern conception of history and the beginnings of sociology is intriguing." (1)

It would appear that Ibn Khaldun is sensitive to social conditioning, and that the human being is at the centre of his world. These two basic facts form the nucleus around which he builds up his various theories. He builds them up

logically and systematically. Since the human being is at the centre, the next step is to consider the physical environment of that being, in order to ensure survival. There follows a detailed consideration of geography, environment, ecology, racia characteristics and customs. This is followed by the fact of human sociality. This is one of the conditions of survival—and not just physical survival (some scholars have argued that Ibn Khaldun means just that—their views will be discussed below). This condition requires co-operation. Co-operation occupies a key position in his thinking. There are different types and forms of co-operation, and different factors leading to it, the most important of these being *asabiyyah*. This concept is considered so important that it will be discussed separately in the following chapter. Here mention of it cannot be avoided, as every scholar who has studied Ibn Khaldun has discussed it.

God's special gift to humanity, says Ibn Khaldun, is the ability to think. This enables human beings to co-operate. This process continues to gain in complexity, and finally results in *umran*. This is another key concept in his thought. In fact, it is the root word for "sociology", and so will be briefly discussed here.

Umran has been varioulsy translated as meaning "civilization", "population", "culture", and "human association". Ibn Khaldun's c ntribution to the meanings of the word (which was used in a primarily geographical sense prior to him), is in singling out its most abstract sense and defining it as a technical term to describe the subject of his new science. As a technical term, he uses it consistently to mean the diverse arts and institutions of social life and the modes pertaining to them, beginning from the moment the individual invents them through the exercise of the rational faculty, and continuing throughout the various stages of their development. Thus, at the beginning of social life, umran means "living together". As society develops, social habits and the various aspects of social life are differentiated, and become more complex. Umran is taken to mean the culture of this society which is its habits, and the objects created by, and the institutions (political, economic, urban, scientific) resulting from the exercise of these habits. The whole of Ibn Khaldun's subsequent exposition of the science of human associsation is a further explication of the complexity of umran.

Ibn Khaldun shows the necessity of human society and culture/civilization through an enquiry into its origins, and an attempt to reconstruct the stages through which humanity passed. In his theory of Social Organization, Ibn Khaldun ponders the question of the cause of differences in size, quality and influence of different human social organizations. He realizes that there must be some factor for the desire for co-operption to exist on a larger scale among some human beings than among others. Only thus can large and powerful states have originated. This factor he calls "*asabiyyah*" —social solidarity, group feeling or group consciousness. As has been stated above, this concept will be further elaborated in the following chapter.

In his theory of social organization he refutes the Greek philosophy that "Man is social by nature". He says, and is now supported by Durkheim, that man organizes himself in society, due to his inability to survive physically and spiritually (2)—alone.

Ibn Khaldun was the first to state clearly some of the basic principles of sociology. Stated briefly, these are :

(1) Social phenomena appear to obey laws that, while not so absolute as those governing natural phenomena, are sufficiently constant to cause social events generally to follow regular patterns and sequences. A grasp of these laws enables the sociologist to anticipate the trend of events.

(2) These laws cannot be significantly influenced by any individual, for the individual's own attitudes and beliefs are considrabley conditioned by the social environment. (3)

(3) These laws can be discovered only by gathering facts and observing concomitants and sequences. Facts can be gathered only from reliable records of past events and from careful observation of present events. Explanation of phenomena consists in relating the correlations thus observed to accepted principles of psychology, biology, and other disciplines.

(4) The same social laws operate in societies with the same kind of structure, however widely they may be separated in space or time.

(5) Societies are dynamic, not static. They change and their forms evolve. This change is due to a number of causes, in particular to the contact between different peoples and groups, and the consequent mutual imitations, and assimilation of cultural traditions and institutions that takes place (cf. McDougal) Ibn Khaldun's definition of the "principle of imitation foreshadows the thinking of Thorstein Veblen.

(6) The laws governing social phenomena have their own unique nature they are specifically sociological laws and not merely reflections of biological impulses or physical forces. Ibn Khaldun sees this point clearly and, although he makes a great deal of allowance for environmental factors like climate, nutrition, etc., he gives much greater importance to social factors, such as cohesion of interests, occupation, religion, education, etc.

There are many more points in the Muqaddimah wherein Ibn Khaldun has anticipated modern sociology: his use of mechanistic concepts such as the balance of forces or the radiation of energy, undsrstanding of social morphology and its growth and decay almost in biological terms; his keen realization of the economic factors influencing the structure and growth of a society, etc. Simultaneously,

in the thought of Ibn Khaldun, runs the metaphysical strand. God's will plays a large part in Ibn Khaldun's exposition of the social and physical factors affecting society. In fact, he says that it is God's will that societies are formd at all—therefore, for Ibn Khaldun, "The unification of people into society is an inescapable phenomenon; and this is the meaning of umran" (MR, 1958, ii, p. 126).

Umran is composed of two kinds of society:

(1) Nomadic society and

(2) Sedentary society.

These are widely accepted translations of Ibn Khaldun's two terms: *badawi* and *hadari*. Alternative translations are : primitive society and civilized society. Although this may not be an incorrect form of translation, it does not agree as well with the spirit in which Ibn Khaldun uses the two terms. Therefore, for the purposes of this study the former translation will be retained. The first book of the Muqaddimah deals with various kinds of human association and social organization in gerneral. The second deals with nomadic society, *i.e.* tribal society, seen as an early phase of human association, which precedes sedentary society. The differences in the economic structure, modes of production, the division of labour, etc., are the distinguishing features of the two societies. Asabiyyah too plays a very important role between the two societies as nomadic ties are mostly blood ties, while those of sedentary, urban societies are generally the interdependence of services and the divsion of labour. (4)

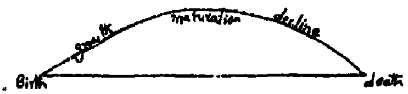
Nomadic societies consist of rural people like bedouins, gypsies and other wanderers, as well as agricultural villagers, while sedentary societies are composed of settled urbanites. The former are characterized by blood and religious ties. They are hardy, rugged, physically strong, and hard-working. There is strong social solidarity and egalitarianism in both senses - equality, as well as the equal sharing of resources. Nomads are independent (freedom-loving), courageous, faithful and simple (in the positive sense of the word). However, they are also rough, backward, and indisciplined. If their economic way of life is changed, their cultural characteristics undergo a similar change.

In sedentary society, people become more sophisticated, clever, and yet deppendent on the central political power. People no longer remain hardy, but luxurious living makes them "soft". Their social solidarity no longer remains strong. This luxurious living attracts more and more people from nomadic society, and so sedentary societies grow larger. Arts and sciences flourish, and reach unprecedented heights compared with the naive standards within nomadic society. But this happens at the expense of some moral values (asabiyyah being the foremost of these). Principle of religion and morality suffer greatly from the change. Ibn Khaldun's argument implies a kind of inverse ratio between developing economic forces and some degenerating cultural elements like religion and morals. On the other hand, another ratio—direct—exists between

the same developing forces and other cultural elements like human intellect, sciences, arts, disciplined political life and social organization. So Ibn Khaldun weighs up the advantages and disadvantages of both kinds of society. His endeavour to trace the causes and relevance of the change from one mode of living to the other makes fascinating reading, but is too vast for the scope of this work. His sociological perception and insight are astonishing.

All his discoveries about nomadic and sedentary societies are applied in, and naturally lead to, his famous law of the rise and fall of civilization, or the law of cyclical change, or the law of social change or (as is the form used by Myers, 1964, p. 59), the growth and decline of social organizations. By whatever name it might be called, it incorporates most of his sociological insight, and is generally held to be his masterpiece.

Ibn Khaldun is known as a "Social Organicist", because of his comparison of society with the human organism. For Ibn Khaldun change is not linear, but cyclical. It takes place by rise and fall. Society is born, grows, matures, declines and dies :



He seeks universal laws which may explain the rise and fall of civilizations. Like the individual, the civilization (or dynasty, cf. MR. 1958, p. lxxxii) is endowed with a natural span of life. It runs its full course in three gererations (vide previous chapter for his definition of the span of a gereration). It passes from obscurity through power and wealth back into obscurity. Three interrelated factors produce this development and accelerate the eventual "senile decay" of the dynasty: indulgence in luxury, with consequent loss of ruggedness and hardihood necessary for victorious combat; loss of asabiyyah; and financial difficulties, due to over-indulgence. Ibn Khaldun may be considered a forerunner of Oswald Spengler.

All dynastic history moves in circles, says Ibn Khaldun, and the same patterns occur again and again. The contents of civilization and culture do not change radically with the forms of each new dynasty, thus enabling the survival of the higher civilization to be found in sedentary society. However, the nobility and prestige and power of a particular dynasty definitely ends in three generations the first generation is that of the builder of the power. His recollections of the difficulties he encountered are vivid, and therefore he guards his position with

all his strength. The next generation acquires the same attitudes, but they are much reduced in strength, as they are based on learning rather than acquired first-hand. The third generation learns them at third hand, relies upon tradition and imitation, rather than on independent judgement, and has lost those qualities that could preserve prestige, power and survival. They take power for granted and abuse it. They assume that prestige belongs to them by descent, and keep aloof from those whose group feeling they should share. The first generation retains the desert qualities of toughness, independence and aggressiveness. Its members have a strong group feeling. They share each other's problems and fortunes. The second generation becomes less close to the people. It emphasises its royal authority. Solidarity gives way to rivalry. The third generation becomes completely oblivious of desert life. It has lost its social solidarity. The rule of force prevails. Luxurious living results in soft and lazy people incapable of protecting themselves, and for whom mercenary armies have to be maintained.

According to Ibn Khaldun, a state or dynasty is limited to five stages :

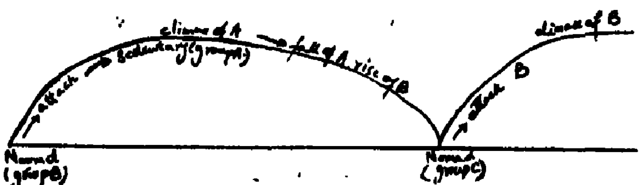
(1) The fight for supremacy, and the seizure of power. Group solidarity is at its peak during this stage. The ruler claims nothing for himself exclusively and this furthers social solidarity.

(2) The establishment of sovereignty, and in consequence, the weakening of solidarity.

(3) The leisure and tranquility of established rule.

(4) The ruler imitating his predecessor's ways in all matters.

(5) Extravagance and luxury prevail, and uninhibited indulgence in desires of every kind, resulting in corruption of the army, increasing of taxes that cannot be collected and, finally, the destruction of the dynasty, due to defeat by a nomadic society not yet corrupted by sedentary life. This law of cyclical change—rise and fall of civilizations, may be expressed diagrammatically as follows :



It is seen that locals are defeated by invaders, and invaders are always nomads, on a lower level of civilization than the sedentary locals. Today, we may not wholly agree with this "Law", at least in its details. We must not forget, however, that Ibn Khaldun lived in North Africa and the Middle East during turbulent times. This is what he observed during his own lifetime, and from a study of past records. In his time too, there were ominous signs of the decline and decay of Islamic civilization. Tamerlane had already conquered Syria in the East, while Spain had been lost in the West. Although he felt that Islam had brought out the best in the Arabs in the seven centuries that had passed, he also felt that it was losing its grip on societies—that, having passed its zenith as regards culture, it was on the decline, just as asabiyyah was on the decline. Secularization was increasing. For Ibn Khaldun, "The unity of the state is naught but a complete identification of the interests of the people with those of the sovereign".[5]

However, Hamidullah, discussing Ibn Khaldun's organicist explanation of the growth and decline of civilizations says : "At the end of a single generation, the race exhausts its vitality, and for purposes of rejuvenation there must be a change at least in the family at the helm of affairs. The racial theory, even it if be considered as a learned exaggeration, can affect ethnic civilizations and such religions as do not admit conversion. Islam luckily escapes this cycle of decadence ; for its followers are found among all races, and it continues to achieve greater or smaller progress everywhere in the world. Moreover it is unanimously recognized that Islam, within its community, has no racial prejudices, a feature which permits it to accept without hesitation, men of any race to be its leaders and standard-bearers."[6]

As a result of his own cyclical theory, Ibn Khaldun rejects two alternative theories—a linear theory and a cyclical one, both of which assert that there is *one culture*, or that all human history is one interrelated whole, and that the movement of culture is necessary and, consequently, can be determined. In rejecting this view, Ibn Khaldun explicitly rejects the theory that history began with a golden age and has been regressing ever since. This statement does not contradict the fact that he ascribes certain virtues to nomadic societies, because (a) nomadic culture is not identified by him with a certain stage in history, and (b) the virtues of nomadic societies are, in any case, imperfect. (MR 1958, I, 318—320). He also rejects the theory of eternal return—that all things return upon themselves and to what they were. Yet he accepts some kind of return : the quasi-cyclical movement of various cultures when they are generated and corrupted. These two views are not, however, inconsistent. All things generated, human being included, continue to exist by passing through a life-cycle without "returning upon themselves". There are beings that do return upon themselves, *e.g.*, the heavens, whose cyclical coming-to-be is necessary. Like them, culture "recurs", but both do not recur in the same manner. Only substances that are eternal return upon themselves, but those which are perishable do not recur—the individual does not recur ; what recurs is the species or the form. Culture clearly belongs to the latter form live in society, their products exceed the needs and necessities of

ıose who labour". "Economic opulence transforms the community of necessity ɔ a community of luxury. In that community, people are no longer dedicated ɔ the mere preservation of life....they start 'transgressing' the property of thers and 'over-reaching' the limits of their own....The result is conflict, bloodhed, and confusion. This war of all against all is carried out with the weapons ıey had forged to defend themselves against wild animals. Having produced ıore weapons than necessary for such defence, these are now used against their ellow humans. They were adequate for turning away wild animals, but since all ...possess them, they are not adequate to defend man against man"(9) and so ıe argument goes on. Ibn Khaldun's systematic, logical method of argument ; very convincing and skilful. The above argument actually goes on, through urbs on freedom for preservation of society, the consequent seizure of power by ıose physically able to do so, through rulership and kingship, until it evenıally reaches the state itself. Thus, we have seen a sociological point lead on to n economic one, which in turn leads to a political one, which itself goes on to ırisprudence, psychology, and religion, having already gone through the stages f most of the physical sciences and "modern" disciplines like ecology.

This same vast scope is seen in miniature in his actual description of the ɔur categories into which he divides labour :

(1) *Agriculture* : according to Ibn Khaldun, this is the most simple and natural of all professions. A farmer produces not only for himself, but also provides for others. It is a profession of goodness and godliness. Charging for his products is the farmer's due, and is right.

(2) *Industry of craftsmenship* : this consists in the manufacture of utility goods, not items of luxury, *e.g.* tools, implements. These are the industries of the potter, cobbler, weaver, metal-worker, woodcarver, etc. He praises these, saying these goods are necessary, and that therefore, charging for them is legitimate. He includes among craftsmen not only those who convert raw materials into finished goods, but also those who provide desired services. He observes that popular demand determines what industry should produce.

(3) *Trade* : this deals with business and commerce. It is a prestigious profession, especially in Arab society. By criticizing it, he stirred up a great deal of resentment against himself. The basic principle of trade, he says, is "to buy cheap, to sell dear". It is profit-oriented and leads to a vicious circle. There is no satisfaction for the trader, so he resorts to cheating and treachery. This leads to hoarding, blackmarketing and profiteering. This occupation requires a cunning, ruthless and unscrupulous character. It is immoral and inhuman. It becomes more important as society advances in civilization for it provides luxuries.

(4) *Rulership* : this is characterized by the domination of man over man. Bureaucracy affords a good and easy living. Power is most attractive. Man greedily strives for this profession, although Ibn Khaldun himself criticizes it, saying that all human beings are equal, so this arrangement is unnatural, and it is an unnatural means of livelihood, however attractive.

Whilst due consideration must be given to the importance of the division of Labour and hence to the economic activity of society, it must not be unduly emphasized, as has been done by the Marxist-Leninist interpretation given to Ibn Khaldun by the Russian scholar, S. M. Batseva, who says : "In consequence, the essence of society lies in the common labour of its members to ensure the means of living on the basis of a division of labour among the people. It is as a basic factor determining the life of the society that Ibn Khaldun sees man's economic activity." [10] Whilst agreeing with some of Batseva's exposition, I feel that this materialist definition is not wholly in keeping with Ibn Khaldun's views. The total absence of the concept of asabiyyah in Batseva's exposition, seems to confirm this. While Ibn Khaldun devotes one whole chapter (5 in Vol. II of the Muqaddimah) to his economic theories, the concept of asabiyyah runs throughout the three volumes of the Muqaddimah, as well as all the volumes of the History. Therefore, to ignore it in an article entitled "The Social Foundations of Ibn Khaldun's Historico-Philosophical Doctrine" seems unfair. The materialist interpretation should not have been exaggerated at the expense of the consideration of asabiyyah.

Another field which Ibn Khaldun links closely with asabiyyah is the political one. In fact, the two are inseparable, as the discussion on nomadic societies with its strong asabiyyah turns to the discussion of sedentary societies, which proceed from the nomadic and are distinguished by comparatively weaker asabiyyah. This leads to conflicts, which are directly related to politics and the power of the ruling families, whether the chief of a tribe or clan, or the head of a dynasty. Ibn Khaldun's politics are inextricably mixed with his sociology and his religion. This is basically true of Islam itself, so Ibn Khaldun is not unique in this at least.

His discussion on rulership, chieftainship, kingship, the caliphate, emperorship (especially in Europe), despotism, and on the various types of government and government institutions is a greatly extended and intricately detailed one. One moreover, which is somewhat outside the limited scope of the present study, but the following is his distinction between the three basic types of rule :

(*a*) the rule based on natural solidarity alone ;

(*b*) the rule based on reason in addition to natural solidarity ;[11]

(*c*) the rule based on religious Law (the Shari'ah in Islam) in addition to natural solidarity.

The crucial role of asabiyyah, which is present in all three, is obvious. In fact Ibn Khaldun shows that the state itself is brought into being by asabiyyah. The addition of rational precepts and the religious Law to asabiyyah in (b) and (c) above introduces a basic change in the use made of asabiyyah, and the ends it is made to serve. (MR 1958, I. pp. 342—44) Nonetheless, it is not the rational precepts nor the prescriptions of the Law which are the immediate cause of any regime. These merely modify solidarity and direct it to particular ends, but solidarity remains the immediate cause which brings a regime into existence and preserves it.

Ibn Khaldun's views on politics, and especially the state, have been at the centre of much discussion, and great polemic, especially in Europe, and especially in the first half of the twentieth century. Leading the debate are the two articles by Professors Gabrieli[12] and Gibb,[13] which, in turn, have generated a whole spate of further discussion, both amongst Western orientalists as well as Arabs and other Muslims.

Gabrieli's article gives a critical analysis of asabiyyah, and its use made in the cyclical theory. His remark to the effect that by means of asabiyyah Ibn Khaldun could rationally explain the conflicts in Muslim thought without impairing the orthodox view on the caliphate and its historical developments (op. cit., p. 498), was to bring down the wrath of both Eastern and Western scholars upon him, with the notable exception of Rabi, who seeks to show that this is not an incorrect view, in his book entitled, "The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun", 1967.

The article by Gibb singles out five studies carried out around the same time and thoroughly criticizes them for their common deficiency in negating, or at least constantly tending to overlook the fact that "Ibn Khaldun was, not a scholar whose ideas were outside the scope of or even directed against the theological tenets of Islam, but to the contrary, a Muslim jurist by training and profession whose thought was deeply embedded in the traditions of Islamic religious scholarship."[14] Gibb takes exception to "....a certain tendency to exaggerate the independence and originality of Ibn Khaldun's outlook, especially in its relation to religious questions". (*ibid.*) He then proceeds to give his own, more restrictive interpretation : "The true originality of Ibn Khaldun's work is to be found in his detailed and objective analysis of the political, social, and economic factors underlying the establishments of political units and the evolution of the State, and it is the results of this detailed analysis that constitute the 'new science' which he claims to have founded. .. In elaborating his theory, Ibn Khaldun of course introduces many conceptions which find no place in their (*i.e.* the older Muslim scholars') outline sketches, but are not in any way in contradiction to them .. It will be seen that Ibn Khaldun does little more than expand these ideas and give them greater precision by introducing the conception of '*ąṣabiyya.*' (*ibid.*)

Gibb concludes that it is impossible to avoid the impression that Ibn Khaldun, besides setting out to analyse the evolution of the state, was, like the other Muslim jurists of his time, concerned with the problem of reconciling the ideal demands of the Shari'ah with the facts of history: "Since mankind will not follow the Shari'ah it is condemned to an empty and unending cycle of rise and fall, conditioned by the 'natural' and inevitable consequences of the predominance of its animal instincts. In this sense Ibn Khaldun may be a 'pessimist' or 'determinist', but his pessimism has a moral and religious, not a sociological, basis." (*ibid*).

Gibb is a reductionist of Ibn Khaldun's sociology, while seeking to overemphasize his religio-political theory. We have the irrefutable evidence of Ibn Khaldun himself, in the introduction to the Muqaddimah, that he is founding a "new science", which he defines clearly and precisely. That he uses this "new science" as a part of his explanation for the theory of the state is also evident, but Gibb should not seek to upgrade the one by down grading the other. Each has its own place in Ibn Khaldun's thought, and each should be accorded the importance it deserves. Rabi's book sets out to systematically refute Gibb's thesis, and succeeds admirably in so doing.

Gibb is not the only scholar to have commented on Ibn Khaldun's thought. Some scholars have devoted whole books or monographs to its explication, while others have mentioned him in various works on Islamica. The views of some of these are presented here.

Continuing with the religious theme, D. B. MacDonald, in an extensive review of Ibn Khaldun's more metaphysical writings than the Muqaddimah, also reviews his historico-scientific work, and reaches the conclusion that Ibn Khaldun "voices the catholic church of Islam" (1965, p. 42.)

Commenting on Ibn Khaldun's theory of political development, Bukhsh points out three characteristic features :

"(1) The social impulse is the primary cause of the union of men.

(2) Out of this impulse arises the family and out of the family the community and the tribe.

(3) The tribe constitutes the basis of political union." (1927, p. 600)

F. Rosenthal, in a wide-ranging survey of Islamic literature says about Ibn Khaldun : "The lasting fame of his *Muqaddima* .. rests on the fundamental contribution it makes to knowledge, its discovery of the pivotal role of certain important factors in the formation and development of human society. Relying on earlier political and legal thought and fully aware of the trends and data basic to the understanding of the totality of Muslim intellectual life, Ibn Khaldun succeeded in presenting a picture of his civilization that has remained authoritative and, in a way, definitive. The new ground he broke proved extremely

fertile. He refused to brush aside human society as something ultimately irrelevant in the divinely determined unfolding of history. (cf. Gibb above). He saw it as founded upon the labour and co-operation of individuals, as held together by man's psychological need to form cohesive groupings ambitions of political domination, as achieving fruition in the material and intellectual culture made possible by urban life, and as constantly succumbing anew to inevitable internal decay, thereby making room for new blood while preserving traces of prior accomplishments and thus providing for some slight but steady linear progress in an otherwise circular movement. His overall view provided Ibn Khaldun with the opportunity for a systematic study of such matters as the meaning of history, population growth and man's relationship to his physical environment, economic theories explaining the functions of labour and commerce, the significance of science and non-material, spiritual and emotional factors in society—in short, all subjects that modern sociology has taken as its special province. Ibn Khaldun's work attracted considerable attention among later Muslim historians. They were, of course, unable to appreciate the promise it held for future research undertaken in entirely different circumstances but they somehow sensed the depth of its insight into the forces of history and politics ... " [p. 329, in Schacht and Bosworth (eds), 1974].

This is a masterly summary and appreciation of Ibn Khaldun. F. Rosenthal is well qualified to make it since it was he who translated the complete Muqaddimah into English. The scholars whose views have been discussed above, and those whose views follow, are less qualified, but nonetheless have some useful comments to make.

There is a group of scholars who refer to Ibn Khaldun mainly as a historian. Some of them do mention his other contributions, but see the greatest of these as being in the field of history. Among these are Ameer Ali (1889) and Barbour (1959), as also is Brockelmann : "Ibn Khaldun was fascinated by the fate of nations. His history of the Berbers is unique in Arabic literature as an attempt to portray the life of an entire people in all its manifestations, on the basis of personal observation and a painstaking study of sources ... In his Prolegomena Ibn Khaldun attempted to outline the first philosophy of history. His doctrine of state and society is, to be sure, entirely dominated by the Islamic legal system of the Shari'ah; [15] but nevertheless he incroporated in it many of his own penetrating observations and conclusions, drawn from a turbulent historical epoch which he lived through partially in a position of leadership and always in the midst of the current stream of events. His sound, coolly reflecting judgement on all phases of Islamic science and civilization in his carefully construed and clear account has never been surpassed by any Muslim author."[16]

In a sweeping statement about "all Ibn Khaldun's critics", Riesler says "Before him, no writer, neither Arab nor European, had ever had a view of history at one and the same time so comprehensive and so philosophical. The general opinion of all Ibn Khaldun's critics is that he was the greatest historian

that Islam ever produced and one of the greatest of all times."[17] What Rissler forgets is that not all Ibn Khaldun's critics are looking at him as an historian, and that there are strands in Ibn Khaldun other than the historical.

"North Africa was to produce one of the greatest historians of all time, the fourteenth century Ibn Khaldun ... His philosophy, which probe in an unprecedented manner the forces that work and shape societies and civilizations, [includes pertinent remarks about Arabic literature and its place in the social scheme of things." [18]

B. Lewis writes in the same vein : "From these (sc. the earliest Arab historical works), narrative and occasionally interpretative, history developed, culminating *in the work of Ibn Khaldun, the greatest historian of the* Arabs and perhaps the greatest historical thinker of the Middle Ages."[19] He continues : "Ibn Khaldun stands alone as the greatest historical genius of Islam and the first to produce a philosophic and sociological conception of history". (*ibid.*, p. 160) Lewis uses unusual terms for those that are usually translated as "nomadic" and "sedentary" : "Ibn Khaldun, contemplating the ruin of his native land by these nomadic invasions, elaborated what was probably the first philosophy of history in terms of the cyclic interplay of the Desert and the sown." (*ibid.*, p. 145 f.)

However, there are those who see in Ibn Khaldun more than just an outstanding historian. Abu-Lughod quotes Tahtawi, a nineteenth century Arab traveller in Europe, who says : "Montesquieu ... This man is referred to as the Ibn Khaldun of the Franks just as Ibn Khaldun might be called the Montesquieu of the Muslims."[20]

Susic too sees beyond the historical boundary. He calls Ibn Khaldun an "outstandingly critical mind" [21] and summarizes his "historical, realistic theory of society and its history", drawing important conclusions from the "conflict of religion and philosophy". "Ibn Khaldun's treatment of the individual is realistic and sociological", rather than philosophical/theological, says Susic.

Hitti remarks that : "The fame of Ibn-Khaldun rests on his *Muqaddamah*. In it he presented for the first time a theory of historical development which takes due cognizance of the physical facts of climate and geography as well as of the moral and spiritual forces at work. As one who endeavoured to formulate laws of national progress and decay Ibn-Khaldun may be considered the discoverer— as he himself claimed — of the true scope and nature of history, or at least the real founder of the science of sociology. No Arab writer, indeed no European, had ever taken a view of history at once so comprehensive and philosophic. By the consensus of critical opinion Ibn-Khaldun was the greatest historical philosopher Islam produced and one of the greatest of all time."[22]

A. H. Siddiqui, although almost aggresively ethnocentric about Islam, gives a fresh insight into the meaning of the word "Ibar": "The attitude of

Islam towards historical knowledge is of great significance in human understanding ... Mere observation is not enough ... The Muslim's task in Islam is not to see the outward manifestations of the different events of human life but to study the inner life of the actors in events and give an account of their motives and aims. It implies that knowledge of history, unlike that of nature and her laws is not a biological necessity ; it is a psychological and, above all, a sociological need ... Muslim historians not only kept the high ideal of objectivity and exactitude in surveying the whole course of human development but sought to determine its origin, course and goal.

"This can be illustrated from the fact that the famous world history of Ibn Khaldun is entitled *Kitab-al'Ibar*. The word '*Ibr* here stands as a prominent key word which reveals the underlying idea for which history was studied by the Muslims. '*Ibar* is the plural of '*Ibrah*, a noun derived from the root '*i—b—r* which means to travel, to cross, to go beyond the borders of the city or a land. It also means to pass from the outside to the inside of a thing. Arabic dictionaries elaborate extendsively on the idea of expressing, explaining and interpreting the meaning of something; and of wondering about, enquiring into, contemplating and penetrating to the innermost significance of an object ... It is the state under which a man on the basis of concrete facts deduces unseen conclusions. It also means to learn a lesson, to take warning or to take an example ... "[23] It will be noticed that most of the translations of the word Ibar (*vide* glossary) by orientalists give the latter meaning, as opposed to the more spiritual meaning given to it by Siddiqui in the foregoing discussion.

Guillaume calls Ibn Khaldun "one of the greatest thinkers that Islam has produced",[24] while Watt says that "In a sense the famous *Muqaddima* ... is the product of his reflection on the overriding forces that shape the ends of human history, rough-hew them how the politicians may."[25]

Gardet makes the following critical comment : "In the fourteenth century just before Muslim culture entered its uncreative era, the sociologist Ibn Khaldun did work that foreshadowed the modern scientific methods of historical scholarship. Thus ... Arab Muslim and Persian Muslim culture, and later and in a lesser degree Turko-Muslim culture, handed on a real legacy to the culture of the West. It is quite possible that a great deal of that legacy has still to be turned to good account. How far it will be integrated in the universal culture of tomorrow will depend, it would seem, on the results of the 'reawakening' (*nahda*) which has been taking place in Islamic countries since the end of the nineteenth century and on whether or not Islam recaptures its past capacity for creative work."[26] This theme will be taken up and discussed in the final chapter of the present study.

So far, views on Ibn Khaldun have been presented which were positive regarding his contribution to scholarship. Gibb's exposition might be thought by some to be a negative approach, but compared with the two which now follow, Gibb's approach is indeed positive, even though leaning heavily on one side.

The only merit Dunlop finds in Ibn Khaldun is that "he was the analyst and super-realist who idealized nobody, not even himself, and is the great, perhaps the only, example of the pragmatic historian among the Arabs."[27] However, the rest is all negative : "Ibn Khaldun, without doubt a man of genius, in the *Muqaddima* ... offers a number of original thoughts on human society and the state, for example the importance of what he calls '*asabiyya*, or solidarity, in establishing and maintaining the state, ... etc., and with reason is often regarded as a forerunner of our present day science of sociology." (*ibid.*, p. 202) However, Dunlop feels that "the principal motive of his activity seems to have been, more than anything else, as far as we can judge from his works, self-interest and the determination to survive." (*ibid.*) Anyone who has read his autobiography or biographies will know the injustice of this assertion, for if self-interest had motivated Ibn Khaldun he would never have sparked off the intrigues started against him after his appointment as Chief Qadi in Cairo, which is what happened after he tried to remove some of the worst abuses of the judiciary. Also, he would not have been removed from his post six times, for he would have made sure he did nothing to incur disapproval, if self-interest had motivated him.

Dunlop continues : "In spite of his intellectual superiority, he did not make any important contribution to philosophy, although in certain of the human sciences, history, politics, sociology, etc. his influence has certainly been felt ... He composes the *Muqaddimah* ... into which he casts both the fruits of his rather extensive reading and his realistic appreciation of life. But how seriously does he take this? ... Perhaps he was unable to apply the theory (*i.e.*, from the Prolegomena into the History) ... either from lack of time or some other reason... the effort is not made ... although he gave evidence in the *Muqaddimah* of ample originality and diversity of interest he produced comparatively little beyond the school exercises of the time." (*ibid.*, pp. 138—149) There is much more in the same vein, but the above passages will serve to show the kind of negative criticism and accusations that are made at Ibn Khaldun. One wonders whether the large number of eminent scholars already quoted in the present study, as well as those yet to be quoted, could all be wrong, and Dunlop could be the only one who is right, as he seems to have an insight and perception granted to no one else.

But Dunlop is not the only one with this perception. There is one other; White, reviewing F. Rosenthal's English translation of the Muqaddimah when it appears in 1958, says : "Toynbee enshrines Ibn Khaldun in a pantheon which houses hereodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Josephus, St. Augustine, Gibbon and Turgot; and of that group, Ibn Khaldun seems, at least at first glance, the most modern of all. Evidence of his modernity is reflected in the dispute between historians and sociologists for the honor of claiming him as their own. In a sense, this dispute over which of the two disciplines may rightly claim him reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of Ibn Khaldun's work ... It reflects as well the misunderstanding which today separates the two disciplines, a misunderstanding which stems from an unwillingness or inability of each to define its proper scope

[illegible] The reviewer does not wish to seem either contentious or niggling when he argues that, in so far as the *Muqaddimah* is concerned, Ibn Khaldun cannot be classified as either historian or sociologist with any sort of terminological accuracy. He can appear to belong to both disciplines only to the eye unwilling to look beyond the obvious use of historical materials and the seemingly prescient use of sociological analytical techniques to the basic assumption underlying both.

"*The appearance of modernity which would seem to distinguish him from the openly avowed metaphysician or theologian of history is the result of an accidental* similarity between Ibn Khaldun's conception of the world and that which underlies much of modern social science. But modern social science is nothing if it is not secular and inductive. And we must look for the roots of Ibn Khaldun's system, not in a nascent secular science of society, but in the tenets of Asharite theology, Muslim jurisprudence and the Muslim adaptation of Greek Philosophy. These three traditions, as they were distilled in the alembic of Ibn Khaldun's genius, forced him to see history as a series of discrete, atomic events on the one hand and provided him with the impulse to discover similarities between them and synthesize them in "sociological" laws on the other. But the resultant sociology is no more inductive than Plato's Republic, and the resultant history is no more humanistic than Spengler's Decline of the West. Thus, Ibn Khaldun's work is differentiated from the main stream of Western historical thought by the absence of those ideas which have always informed the work of its greatest representatives : the humanistic notion of variety within the continuity of social development and the sense of human responsibility for the great changes of history."[28]

This criticism is made with hindsight, with which we can all see better, as has been stated before. Modern methods cannot be imposed upon Ibn Khaldun, and as for White's criticism of Ibn Khaldun's methods not being inductive, it does not even have the merit of being correct, as the following discussion will show.

Rabi (op. cit.) devotes a whole chapter of his book to a discussion of Ibn Khaldun's (indudctive) method. Mehdi (op. cit.) too discusses the inductive method in Ibn Khaldun, as also does Issawi (op. cit.). Nassar explores the methodological problems and reasons which occurred in Ibn Khaldun's thought, and which resulted in the use of the scientific method, which ultimately led to the birth of sociology. He goes to great lengths to show in detail the conversion of abstract categories into "cadres d' explication concrete", because "la sociologiest nécessaire pour le travail d' explication historique."[29] Therefore he is saying that for the type of historical explanation Ibn Khaldun was attempting, the birth of sociology was a necessity. This seems to contradict White's hypothesis. Nassar uses the term "Ibn Khaldun's socilogical realism" in preference to those used by other scholars, e.g., "social philosphy", or "philosophy of history", or even

"sociology". It is a matter of definition, and translation of terms—a double problem, since Ibn Khaldun's work is in Arabic, and it is very difficult almost impossible to find the exact corresponding term in other languages, especially European ones, as the whole concept may be absent or different.

On the inductive method in general, Yusuf says: "The inductive method, which percolated to Europe through Muslim Spain and gave birth to the present—day science and civilization, is essentially a product of the Islamic mind—the mind that was nurtured in the dictum: 'Meditate not on God but on the Creation of God'. (Hadith) The important corollary—important or culture and civilisation—is that matter as such is no hindrance to moral development. Islam does not at all recognise the artificial division....of the life of man into two compartments, material and spiritual. It is only by keeping his moral consciousness alive, in the midst of a full and active life abounding in pleasures as well as sorrows that a Muslim earns his merit....A Muslim's primary loyality is not to the past but to the original source of his culture which is ever fresh in every age. It is this harking back which is very often misunderstood as conservatism in the sense of blind and merely sentimental, not rational and critical, allegiance to the past....A Muslim conserves the spirit of change—conscious, intelligent change according to his norms and values."(30)

Two more points need to be discussed, as verying views have been put forward regarding them. The first point is that of Ibn Khaldun's "originality" or otherwise. Scholars have disputed this point quite fiercely. Only a few scholars' opinions will be expressed here, as there is no great diversity of argument. It has already been mentioned above, that Gibb is a proponent of the negative side. His thesis has been very thoroughly refuted by Rabi (op. cit.). Some of Rabi's points will be mentioned here. Bammata (31) has argued for originality, as has schmidt (op. cit.). While reviewing Kamil Ayad's "Die Geschicts-und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Khalduns" (1930), Schmidt says: "Of special value is the effort of Dr. Ayad to trace the growth among earlier Arabic historians and philosophers of some of these ideas that find their fullest expression in the Prolegomens. In the main these earlier foreshadowings only serve to enhance the impression of Ibn Khaldun's amazing originality." (op. it., p. 62)

Rabi says: "It is necessary first to provide an answer to the serious problem of Ibn Khaldun's 'originality' that was made to stand out so clearly when Gibb wrote his critique....In our view, the true originality of his work is not only to be found, as Gibb proposed, in his objective analysis of the different factors underlying the establishments of political units and the evolution of the state, but also, and perhaps more important, in his original treatment of the political developments of the Caliphate....Such original achievement would not have been possible had Ibn Khaldun adopted the same methods of his predecessors. Here we disagree again with Gibb's sweeping generalisation expressed above in his two notions

on the Islamic background of Ibn Khaldun's political theory, and that the principles on which his study rests are those of practically all the early Sunni jurists and social philosophers." (op. cit. pp. 11ff) Rabi spends a major portion of his book in proving this thesis.

F. Rosenthal, who is an authroity on Ibn Khaldun, looks seriously at the question of Ibn Khaldun's originality or otherwise, in the introduction to his translation of the Muqaddimah. After examining all the evidence for and against the thesis of originality (and there are a number of factors against it), he comes to the conclusion that "Yet he was right when he claimed that the *Muqaddimah* was profoundly original and constituted a new departure in scholarly research. Its originality in the intellectual sense is obvious. The *Muqaddimah* re-evaluates, in an altogether unprecedented way, practically every single individual manifestation of a great and highly developed civilization. It accomplishes this both comprehensively and in detail in the light of one fundamental and sound insight, namely by considering every thing as a function of man and human social origanization." (MR 1958, p. l xxxvi).

The second point deals with the comparison of Ibn Khaldun with Machiavelli. A great number of writers (Starting with Toynbee's passage quoted above), even during the last century, saw fit to equate Ibn Khaldun's political theories with those articulated in *Il Principe*. According to Nassar, 'Notre auteur so proposait d' expliquer la vie de l' Etat, et, par extension, la vie de la société oú apparait l' Etat. Il voulait, plus spécialement, expliquer la vie de l'Etat historique dans lequel il a vecu et la vié de la société historique qui trouvait son org'nasation dans la forme de cet Etat." (op. cit., p. 122) Only in this respect does Ibn Khaldun resemble Machiavelli—not in the contents of the exposition of the theory of state.

Myers says: "In his views the duties of the state were simply to guarantee Security, peace, and equity in transactions. Ibn Khaldun wrote about the sovereignty of the ruler, the meaning of the caliphate, and about the different theories on monarchy. In short, he laid down the qualities and duties of the ideal prince or ruler. He also dealt with the defense of the state, the devotion of the solidery, the competition in business of the prince with his people and the encroachment of the government upon private property. Machiavelli treated many of these subjects in *The Prince*....but Machiavelli studied the prince from a purely pragmatical point of view. He draw his conclusions from success achieved or failure suffered, without any consideration of moral principles. Ibn Khaldun's treatment of his subject is broader and his conclusions more idealistic; his main concerns were with the causes of the rise and fall of civilizations rather than the power-motivated policy of the prince." (op. cit., p. 64).

F. Rosenthal, continuing his discussion on the originality of Ibn Khaldun (see above), referring to comparison of the Muqaddimah with *Il Principe* says.... "though the two Works are so different in scope and out-look that they should hardly be mentioned in the same brath." (op. cit., p. lxxxvi) Concluding hisdiscussion he says: "As it is, we can hardly do better than to state simply that here was

a man with a great mind, who combined action with thought, the heir to a great civilization that had run its course, and the inhabitant of a country with a living historical tradition albeit reduced to remanants of its former greatness who realised his own gifts and the opportunities of his historical position in a work that ranks as one of mankind's important triumphs." (p. lxxxvii).

Before concluding this chapter, Inbn Khaldun's views on religion and science will be briefly discussed. According to Ibn Khaldun, second to asabiyyah and based upon it, religion is the most powerful force in the creation of civilization and its commands are the most effective instruments for preserving it. (MR 1958, I, p. 276). There are two distinct schools of thought regarding the role of religion in Ibn Khaldun's thought. One is the Gibb school (discussed above), which seeks to see religion as influencing his "scientism" which is therefore (in their view) not scientific at all.

E.I.J. Rosenthal also sees him along Gibbsian lines. He calls him an "exceptional man and writer", who "cannot easily be fitted into the Mediaeval order of things".(32) He gives a brief account of Ibn Khaldun's "characteristic ideas", and reasserts his earlier position of seeing Ibn Khaldun against the background of his religious adherence, "for, if we tear him away from his spiritual background, we cut loose his roots and are apt to lose ourselves in an historically dubious and unjustifibale modernisation by attaching to him labels taken from modern economics and sociology. It cannot, however, be denied that there are to be found in his *muqadimma* striking parallels with the teachings of representative European thinkers from the eighteenth century onwards. But we must beware of seeing in Ibn Khaldun an actual precursor of these thinkers and their systems as a whole, be they Vice, Comte, Hegel, Marx or Spengler. These parallels, on the other hand, are no more coincidence. They testify to the premature birth of modern scientific inquiry into the human group rather than into the individual, and as such they are highly significant for the history of the human mind. But we must not forget that signficant for the history of the human mind. But we must not forget that in the fourteenth century they are arratic, and not an organic growth of the modern age.

Their emergence was possible in a time of transition, when the Mediaeval order gave way, gradually, to a new grouping of political, economic and spiritual forces. (33) They are the result of a method unparalleled in these days and commonly attributed to the age of the Renaissance: emiric observation by an impartial intellect. If a comparison must be made, we can still think of no closer parallel in matter political than Machiavelli, though even so, the differences between the two thinkers are considerable. (34) Yet, there is in Ibn Khaldun many a characteristic feature of the Renaissance: his quest for empirical truth, his political activity often so reminiscent of the Condottiere, his humanistic conception of culture and civilisation. With such like traits he reaches out from his Islamic root and environment. Islam, for him, is the choicest fruit of a God-guided and Godward directed human effort to give a community a lasting spiritual content, a complete answer to all the problems of life. At least in theory, it furnishes the complete answer to his empirical inquiry into the origanisation of the human race." (p. 307f)

Not every scholar would agree that this is a correct and very precise evaluation of Ibn Khaldun's attitude to religion, or that E.I.J. Rosenthal's attitude to Ibn Khaldun is a correct evaluation of the latter's thought. The opposite school of thinking from Gibb and E.I.J. Rosenthal is the one that says that although Ibn Khaldun was a devoted Muslim, he did not explain history through theology. His most characteristic trait is that he does not allow one to intrude upon the other. According to Ibn Khaldun, science and religion deal with two distinct phenomena and cover different fields. According to some scholars, he accepted the supremacy of religion over science only after his unorthodox views were greatly criticized by the ultra-conservative *'ulama*, and he was in danger of being declared a *kafir* by means of a *fatwa*, *i.e.*, being excommunicated. Whatever the truth of the matter, we repeatedly see him warn against over-confidence inhuman reason, and consequently, in science. What he appears to be saying about the relationship between science and religion is, in effect, that where science ends, religion begins.

Regarding the controversy between faith and intellect, Nadwi calls upon Ibn Khaldun: "There is no contradiction between the rational and the scriptural canons, but there are different grades and standards of human intellect : Thus, howsoever penetrating a compass of mind we may assume one to possess, it would necessarily be limited in a comparative sense. The very fact that it would be bound by cretain limits, would also circumscribe its cmprehension and restrict the responsibilities emanating from it. The golden rule to be followed in these matters has ben precisely enunciated by Ibn Khaldun, the great Arab philosopher who can justly be called the precursor of the philosophy of history, and social sciences.(35) He goes on to state Ibn khaldun's theory of being and theory of knowledge (of. Issawi, pp. 164—166.)

On this point of faith and reason Derbishire's interpretation is reproduced here: "Ibn Khaldun concludes his argument about the possible, *al mumkin*, by which he means the rational or intelligible, with a quotation from the Quran. "Lord, augment me in Science." He not only turns suddenly from philosophy to religion, as may have been expedient for one writing, perhaps too freely, in the prison of a mediaeval despot. He not only, with fine literary effect, concludes a scientific argument with a religious quotation: but, in the context, he intimates that faith also is reason that men may continue to learn beyond argument, that universal ideas among things "possible". Faith is a final reason for accience. In the Quran itself, this brief but weighty verse is not only a sudden turn from religion to science, from the particular knowledge of the Quran advocated in xx. 112 to universal knowededge of God desired in xx. 113 (God, shortly before called "The True") but, in the context again, there seems an intimation that what wisdom God is, man may have more of. Science is a final spiration of Faith. However possible this may be (and, "to him that believeth all things are possible") appeal from particular to universal is latent in every line of Ibn Khaldun's critique."(36). Darbishire goes on to say: "It is not by accident nor by art that Ibn Khaldun leaves the final argument to God, for it is His." (*Ibid*). He concludes with a quote from the Bible: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men....

that they should seek the Lord.........the glory of Science in Faith, and the glory of Faith in Science. The true knowledge is to believe in God. The true faith, God augmenting us in Science, is to feel after Him." (*ibid.*, p. 235).

Discussing Ibn Khaldun's work in the light of religion and reason, Rabi says: "Even as a devout believer he did no....invalidate the findings of his observations and intellect. On the bearing of human reasoning on his writings we may observe that Ibn Khaldun resorted to rational investigation in a realistic way—and not in the Platonic sense of the self-sufficiency of reason—to check historical data. The *Muqaddima* includes many enquiries of this kind," (op. cit. p. 38), some of which Rabi gives as illustrations. "Human intellect can, by using rational investigation, distinguish between the nature of the possible and the impossible, thus facilitating the acceptance of reports about things or events that fall within the sphere of the possible and rejecting those which fall outside." (*ibid*)

In conclusion, the following passage from Cragg is presented as an overview of the topics dealt with, in this chapter: "The great Ibn Khaldun was, more than any other figure in Islamic writing, a philospher of civilization, ambitions to relate the finality of everything Islamic, in which he profoundly believed, to the entirety of human history. In the breadth of his interests, he not only anticipated modern sociology, but also broached in his own context the urgent modern theme of the relation of religion to humanity as a whole."(37)

After narrating a brief life-history of Ibn Khaldun, Cragg continues: "There was, therefore, an existential quality about his interrogation of history. But it was not so much a philosophy of history in the speculative sense which he sought. It was rather a study of the flux of historical movement, an analysis of the life-cycles of states and the rise and fall of empires. He was interested in the bearing of climate, landscape and race on the patterns of culture. He assessed the survival power of human institution and attempted to describe a geography of politics.....The Maqaddimah was the fruit of more than fifty years of reflection and scholarship. As a sociology of history it still fascinates twentieth century historians......The author sharply separates pholosphy from theology and sees the former, a best, as of value only to certain individuals, and then only defensively in relation to faith." (*ibid.*) (But cf. the discussion above).

"The range of his vision had a truly nobel quality. It was combined with a sympathetic realism about human foibles. What strikes the modern reader is the fusion of a lively perception of man and an entire faith in revealed dogma. He sought a rational understanding of the panorama of history. But he refused to grant to reason any role in the sphere of religious truth. (But cf. Nadwi, Darbishire and Rabi above, who would certainly disagree with this view of Ibn Khaldun). Revelation meant for him a disallowance of rationality, except in the confirmation of dogmas accepted in their incontrovertible right. (But cf. Rabi above, as also my views above).....In the same manner, his readiness for the external relations of Islam, for inquiries outisde the Islamic civilization, did not admit of any relativity in

hings Quranic. His universal interests were dogmatically conditioned. He conceded that external philosophy and culture had influenced Islam and that scholastic controversy with non-Muslims without, and heretics within, had tempted the rue faith into speculation. But the implicit reliance on itellect that this involved, bn Khaldun deplored wherever Islam was concerned. Even Plato, he noted, had ended in uncertainties about the Divine.

"Thus his wide-ranging sociology proceeded with the premises of a dogmatic heology which he took wholly on trust and trusted wholly. He responded to Islam's faith about God as 'Lord of the world's with an eager, even encyclopedic, interest in the worlds of human time and place, but always under that Lordship logmatically confessed. He looked for patterns in historical flux, but still received slam as somehow outside it. The study of history, for him, was expected to illusrate God's dealings, confirm His moral order, attest the Quran, and edify the faithful. His belief in creation, Providence, and the seal of prophethood in Muhammad both nspired and circumscribed his motive concepts. He achieved a noble expression of inclusive sympathies, but did so from an entire Islamic self-sufficiency." (This s essentially a Gibbsian view, without Gibb's academic distancing.) "Perhaps the deepest personal significance of his scholarly labours is that they gave solace o the tribulations of his own biography, all of which makes him an appealing, as well as a monumental, figure.

"Is it not the quality of the questions of modern time that they demand the range of mind that Ibn Khaldun exemplified, although they no longer stay within the borders of the dogmas where he dwelt? He was potentially modern in a medieval time, when Islam was outwardly in command of its world." (*ibid.*, p. 108).

It is doubtful whether or not Islam *was*, whether outwardly or inwardly, in command of its world. Its empire was certainly slipping from its grasp—*viz*. the Reconquista of Spain in the West, the surrender of Syria in the East. Ibn Khaldun sees a number of reasons for this decline, chief amongst them being the increasing loss or weakening of asabiyyah. It is this concept upon which attention is focussed n the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

"*Asabiyyah* is necessary for the Muslim community. Its existence enables (the community) to fulfil what God expects of it. Still, we find that Muhammad censured asabiyyah and urged us to reject it and leave it alone. He said: "God removed from you the arrogance of pre-Islamic times and is pride in encestry. You are the children of Adam, and Adam was made of dust'. God said: 'Most noble among you in God's eyes is he who fears God most.' (Quran, 49:13)" (MR, 1967, p. 160).

There appears to be a dichotomy here. On the one hand Ibn Khaldun announces the necessity of that which, on the other hand, both Quran and Hadith seem to repudiate. In order to attempt to resolve this problem, a closer look the at object itself is necessary.

The object itself, however, turns out to be so enigmatic as to almost defy explication or interpretation. On the other hand, it has so vast a meaning that it is capable of innumerable interpretations. These, however, fall short of a total explanation, since the concept itself is virtually untranslatable. In every translation it loses something. Therefore, it is apparent that it is not possible to arrive at a complete understanding of this elusive abstract concept. This is not to say that one cannot try. Watt says: "In the Islamic world the concepts implicit in men's practice are more important than the writings of the political theorists."[1] One such concept is *Asabiyyah*. Levy provides another insight: "It is still further in the favour of Islam that it does not endeavour to alienate the convert from his tribal relationships, and it preserves-even, as we have seen, enhances-his social status."[2]

These insights provide glimpses into asabiyyah, but in order to appreciate Ibn Khaldun's own use of the concept it is useful to look at the history of the term. The word itself existed in the Arabic language from pre-Islamic times. However, it came to have pejorative connotations in Islam. Arab lexicographers (cf. MR, 1958, pp. lxxviii ff.) connect the term with the word "asabah". meaning "agnates". Thus, says F. Rosenthal, it originally signified something like "making common cause with one's agnates". As a corollary this signified "being against others", leading to conflict, war and domination of those with strong "common cause". This is how the term was used prior to Ibn Khaldun's technical (and different) use of it. Therefore, it is not surprising that Islam condemned it, as a quality and state of mind considered to mean "bias", or, more specifically, blind support of one's group without regard for the justice of its cause. (cf. Gabrieli, op. cit.). As such, says F. Rosenthal, "any show of *asabiyyah* is depreciated as an atavistic survival of the pagan, preslamic mentality." (op. cit.)

Ibn Khaldun, of course, was fully aware of this customary usage. He discriminates between this objectionable, pagan asabiyyah and "the natural asabiyyah that is inseparable from human beings..................Nothing can take it away. It is not forbidden (by Shari'ah). On the contrary, it is something desirable and useful". (MR, 1958, I, pp. 414ff.)

Before starting a discussion on the subject itself, varying translation into primarily English, but also French and German ones are presented at this stage. Gabrieli's version has been given above. For Helmut Ritter (1948), what Ibn Khaldun calls "asabiyyah" is the same thing that Machiavelli calls "virtue" : an innate aptitude for political power and military combat; with psychological connotations. For Silvestre de Sacy (1810) it is "tribal fanaticism" and "public spirit". But Ibn Khaldun has a specific term for tribal fanasticism : "hadija". For Von Kremer Alfred (1879), it is "national sentiment". For Enan (op. cit.), it is "the vitality of the State". Ayad (op. cit.) calls it "Lebenskraft". E. I. J. Rosenthal (op. cit.) designates it as "the force motivating the formation of the State". The Encyclopaedia of Islam calls it "patriotism". Khemiri Tahir (1936) calls it "national conscience", Charles Issawi (op. cit.) comes nearest with

"social solidarity". Claude Cehon (1958) calls it "a very strong sense of solidarity". For Louis Gardet, asabiyyah is a form of solidarity between the non-Arab indigenous population against the domination of the Arabs, therefore it is against the concept of the *Ummah* (see discussion below)—the solidarity and unity of all Muslims. This is not a correct view. Ibn Khaldun has a specific term for this also: "Shu' ubiyyah". In fact, he has specific Arabic terms for each of the above-given translations of asabiyyah, so none of them can be wholly correct.

The same observation applies to the following interpretations. For Toynbee (op. cit.) it is "the psychic protoplasm from which develop all political and social organisms". This has the advantage of underlining the importance of the concept, which the others do not do sufficiently, but it is too general and not explicit enough. De Slane, in his translation of the Muqaddimah (1862-65), renders it into "esprit de corps". However, it has been pointed out that Ibn Khaldun uses the term about 500 times in the Muqaddimah, while De Slane has used his own alternatives in certain passages, *e.g.* "family", "parents", "group of friends", "devotees", "community", "esprit de race et de corps", "peuple anime d'un vif esprit de sa dignite", "sympathy", "confraternite de sentiments", "zeal and ardour", "sentiment", "patriotism", "tribal spirit", "national spirit", "national sentiment", "party", "group", "force", "army", etc. Ibn Khaldun, however, uses precise Arabic terms when he means to use any of the above list. So when he writes "asabiyyah", he means precisely that, and not any of the above.

Some scholars, thinking that Ibn Khaldun's asabiyyah seems to characterize nomadic societies most of all, define it as "the nature of being nomadic", or "the quality of nomadic life". But Ibn Khaldun says that it characterises sedentary societies also (although in a much less degree). If he had meant it to mean what these two expressions imply, he would have used the term "muruwa". And, in any case, he shows that not all nomadic tribes do possess asabiyyah, so that definition does not stand either.

An Arab scholar, M. D. al-Rayyes (1953), classifies it as a secular force. Comparisons have also been drawn between this term and those used by Rousseau and Hegel (cf. Rabi, p. 10), but these can be translated more as "co-operation", less as "social solidarity". Mahdi (op. cit.) translates it as simply "solidarity". L. Gumplowicz (1928) uses "the term "Solidaritat" also, as also does Issawi. Schimmel and Ayad agree on "Gemeinesinn" and "Gemeingefuhl". R. Flint (op. cit) uses "public spirit" (a literal translation of De Slane's "esprit de corps", which is a bad translation). "Nationalism" is therefore also ruled out, as also is "group cohseion", "volonte commune", and Sherwani's (1970) "Group Mind". Similarly, Bukhsh's (1927) "communal sense" and "communal spirit" are also too narrow a definition.

Nassar (op. cit.) translates it as "solidarite socio-agnatique", because for him it signifies, in Ibn Khaldun's thought, a social group for which the family

group is the model of cohesion; united and strong. Nassar says that consanguinity is an integral part of asabiyyah, without which the concept would become general and vague. (p. 155). However, blood ties are not the sole component of asabiyyah—Ibn Khaldun has greatly emphasized the sociological element of some sort of natural ties that unite human beings. Nassar also says that asabiyyah is a measure of the strength of the tribe. (p. 186). It constitutes demographic, psychological and historical factors.

All these definitions show its importance, its complexity and the vastness of its scope. Most of the definitions given above contain some modicum of the sense of what it means. Each of them emphasises one or other aspect of the elements constituting asabiyyah. Most of the above interpretative definitions are *either too specific, i.e. narrow in their scope, or are too general to be exact.* None of them can provide a holistic view. It is difficult to imagine any English word/phrase/expression (or for that matter, any non-Arabic one) that would convey the whole sense of its meaning, in anything like the brevity with which it is so in Arabic (and thence into other Arabic-influenced languages like persian, Urdu, Malay, pre-Ataturkist Turkish, etc.).

It is neither a sentiment nor a psychological component, but is a very complex combination of many different factors. It is a social and political reality, the psychological consequences of which are very important. All the above-quoted interpretations tend to make asabiyyah a phenomenon existing in all places at all times. They do not take into account Ibn Khaldun's situating of it—a precise historical position in time and space. (MR, 1958, I, pp. 336ff). However, see discussion below on its applicability.

Mahdi (op. cit.) calls asabiyyah solidarity, which is a "habit" that is "the socially institutionalized form of a simple desire: man's affection toward his fellow men, especially his blood relations." (p. 268) for him it is only one of the four elements which constitute culture, but "If we consider the way Ibn Khaldun treats the subject matter and problems of culture, however, we find that he lays so much emphasis on solidarity that it almost becomes the central theme of the new science." (p. 269). So, says Mahdi, "since solidarity is the efficient cause of culture, it is only natural that Ibn Khaldun should lay more emphasis on it in explaining how culture comes-to-be, the various stages through which it passes, and how it declines and disintegrates." (p. 270).

Many of the details of this process have already been dealt with in the preceding chapter, and so will not be restated here. However, Mahdi does not here mention the important factor of religion. Ibn Khaldun discerns in the life of society two dominant forces that mould their destiny, as Myers (op. cit.) rightly points out. One is asabiyyah—the "binding elements in society" (*ibid*, p. 56), and the other is religion, which is secondary to asabiyyah, and actually serves to bloster the latter. However, Myers does not point out that the relationship is dialectical, and that asabiyyah can also lead to religious unity (cf. discussion on Ummah below).

Historically, the impact of the combination of strong asabiyyah and strong religion (in this case, Islam) on other civilizations was tremendous. Ibn Khaldun sees this, as also the fact, in his own day, of week asabiyyah, week religion, and a week civilization. It is no wonder that for him the strength or weakness of a nation (society/civilization—all can serve for the term *ummah*) is largely determined by the strength or weakness of its asabiyyah.

Asabiyyah, says Ibn Khaldun, in various extended discussions on the subject throughout the Muqaddimah and the History, results initially from blood relationship, but (and this is where the proponents of the consanguinity theory go wrong) it widens its circle to include common factors of religion, cohabitude, common aims and goals, etc. etc. It is a direct result of organization of individuals into society, but since again there seems to be a cyclical theory involved here, it does not follow that the greater the organization, the greater the asabiyyah. In fact, after reaching its peak in nomadic society, it starts receding with increassingly complex societies, with their division of labour, greater individuality and secularization, and less hardy lives.

Ibn Khaldun elaborates his theory of asabiyyah regarding the political community. Asabiyyah is the strongest guarantor and mainstay of the political community. When it is strong, the community is strong, and when it gets weakend, that community is on the decline (cf. the cyclical theory of the rise and fall of civilizations in the previous chapter). Asabiyyah is thus the leading principle, the one guiding central idea in the process", [3] the driving force for human association. It incorporates a common ideal. However, although there is almost a dialectrical and complementary relationship between Asabiyyah and religion, there is also a curious rivalry between them.

In the cyclical theory of civilization (cf. previous chapter), it was seen that strong asabiyyah results in nomadic societies periodically overthrowing sedentary dynasties, and taking over from them. However, it is also a fact that sedentary society is more secularized and less tied to religion than nomadic society. Although religion bolsters asabiyyah (and *vice versa*), asabiyyah ultimately causes (however indirectly) the weakening of religion—of course it, too, suffers in the long run, but this "love—hate relationship" between asabiyyah and religion cannot be denied.

Asabiyyah is strongest in nomadic (tribal) society, so naturally, Ibn Khaldun discusses this particular kind (as opposed to that found in sedentary societies) at the greatest length. Discussing tribal solidarity in North Africa at the time, Ibn Khaldun cites various causes for it, the major ones being the politics of the Islamic empire of the time and, most important (in lacoste's [4] view), is the agricultural economy of the North African tribes. These lead to the importance of geographical factors, as well as historical and military ones: "Le system tribal est la forme d organisation qui assure le *plus* efficacement la cohesion d'un

groupe pastorale dont les deplacements empechent qu'il puisse se definir en fonction d'un territorie precis occupe en permanence." There existed what Marx was, five centuries later, to call "the asiatic mode of production". (cf. B. Turner below).

In Lacoste's view, the very fact that asabiyyah has been open to such diverse translations, explanations and interpretations, renders it useless, and he therefore rejects it as a general sociological concept (p. 140). However, in my view this is not valid. Just because one cannot comprehened the full significance of a complex foreign term which defies complete interpretation even though one may have grasped its general meaning and sense, that is not reason enough to reject it. It is also inadequate to say that Ibn Khaldun himself did not intend it to have such a wide scope for application.

It is also true (and Lacoste admits it, p. 140) that Ibn Khaldun uses asabiyyah to formulate his general sociological theory, which he intends should be of universal applicability, as he himself says throughout the three volumes of the Muqaddimah. So that if there is some contradiction here, I would choose wider application for asabiyyah than does Lacoste, who does see, as do the great majority of other scholars, the possibility of wider application. Another criticism of Lacoste is that he gives asabiyyah too much of a political flavour—the political factor does play a part in the complexity of the concept, but it is only a part.

The answer to those who say that Ibn Khaldun's concepts and theories do not "fit" into the modern scheme of things, is that he could not approach some of today's problems simply because they did not then exist, nor did the factors that caused them exist. But this is no reason to reject the applicability of his ideas, which thesis Lacoste emphatically agrees with (pp. 12-17). Ibn Khaldun research into the past, thoroughly lived and observed his present, and made certain general sociological, empirically based predictions for the future, but he could not envisage the nineteenth—twentieth centuries, with their own peculiar, and everincreasing, brand of industrialism, modernism and secularism. Each of these—separately and together—contributes to the growing problem of salienation, as is convincingly shown by Durkheim, Weber and Marx, especially by Marx and Durkheim, and indirectly through Weber's works.

Schacht says : "A certain kind of solidarity with others is possible if, and only if, one shares a set of values, beliefs and practices with them."[5] It is interesting to compare this statement with Ibn Khaldun's "asabiyyah". Marx also speaks of a "social substance" or a "community" which he calls "Gemeinwesen", from which he goes on to discuss the individual's alienation. He conceives of this social substance in terms of "communal life", and "social existence" rather than cultural, social, and political institutions.[6]

Alienation, although an old term, has vigorously surfaced within the last century,[7] although conceivably, its initial Greco-Latin meaning was restricted

to its own historical situation. It has now been adapted to the contemporary situation, and is in wide (some scholars would say "too wide") usage. Similarly, in many ways its antonym—asabiyyah could be made to resurface, and its application made wide.

This may be thought to be too simplistic an argument. The two terms may be disparate and may not even be comparable. The comparison of the two terms (Although on opposite sides in meaning, and having an inversely proportional relationship—see below) was initially suggested by the wide range of interpretations and definitions of which both are capable, their complexity and their potentially universal applicability. Alienation, especially as propounded by Marx, has a negative connotation. Asabiyyah, especially in Ibn Khaldun's thought, has a positive connotation. Initially, they both had reverse connotations.

Both men are emphatic in their views of their respective concepts; both tend to treat them as fundamental to their whole theses; both stress their importance and bearing on the welfare of soceity (one by rejecting alienation, the other by recommending asabiyyah); both are "scientific" in their outlook but make open value judgements where these two concepts are concerned; both concepts embody extremely human values and, while embracing the whole of soceity (admittedly, different kinds of soceity), both concepts place strong emphasis on the ties that bind/loosen individuals to or from soceity. Both men search for their respective causes, and each provides his own theory. Strangely, these causes are somewhat similar: for Marx, it is predominantly the economic factor-modes of production and the division of labour, leading from historical and political factors, towards socio-psychological ones. For Ibn Khaldun too, asabiyyah (whether in nomadic or sedentary society) is caused by social psychological, historical, economic and political factors. In both theories religion plays a central part—in one by its explicit rejection, in the other by its explicit acceptance.

There are a number of other similarities : both terms stimulate great interest, and provoke intense reactions from scholars in these fields. They cannot be ignored. They are powerful enough to merit considerable attention. Of course, asabiyyah is nowhere near as universally well known as is alienation, but it is seen that Ibn Khaldun is nowhere near as well known as is Marx. Lacoste may or may not be correct when he says that the fact of Ibn Khaldun's lack of recognition is due to a deliberate attempt on the part of nineteenth and early twentieth century. Western scholars (op. cit. pp. 15-17), but it cannot be denied that Ibn Khaldun has been held in general obscurity even within the Muslim world, (cf. conclusion), apart from the few scholars who specialize in this field. There are a number of reasons for this comparative obscurity (cf. also F. Rosenthal in Schacht & Bosworth, op. cit., p. 338), but these do not legitimate it.

Obscure or not, however, asabiyyah, when all its definitions are looked at holistically, seems to embody all that alienation, with all its own definitions and implications, is not, *e. g.*, alienation is not social solidarity, asabiyyah is. The former

is not unity, the latter is. It does not result in "esprit de corps", nationalism, patriotism or cohesion, while the latter does. More such contrasts could be made, but these are sufficient to indicate the point of the argument : the inversely proportional relationship in which they stand to one another.

Both men show how their respective concepts come about, and the factors that cause them (*see* above). Thinking positively, Marx states the ways by which he says alienation can be eliminated. Just so does Ibn Khaldun, thinking negatively, state the ways in which he says asabiyyah can be eliminated. For Ibn Khaldun, the factors which lead to the decomposition of asabiyyah are sedentary life, the luxurious living of some, egalitarianism giving way to despotism and dictatorship, concessions to favourites, the creation of a new privileged class of power-seekers (the greater powers the new aristocracy assumes, the greater are its interests in conflict with the rest of the tribe, and the greater is the dislocation of the tribal social structure. This is in accord with Marx's thesis). This leads to the other factors, such as wrong utilization of state financial resources, illegal commercial transactions, financial crises, slavery the emolment of mercenaries, etc. All these and other measures lead to mass misery and discontent, which leads to manifest antagonism, leading to repression (by means of mercenaries), and ultimately leading to loss of asabiyyah.

It is interesting to note that some of these factors are stated by Marx to cause alienation. It might not be incorrect to say that since many of the same factors are involved in the loss of asabiyyah as are involved in the achievement of alienation, the two are not as unrelated as might appear on the surface.

An important point to be stressed in this comparison is the modern fact of the individual in his/her own right. In medieval times, indviduals were, generally speaking, conscious of themselves for more as members of a certain tribe, race, religion, people, party, family, or some other general category, rather than as individuals. The change in thinking occurred in Europe during the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and the breakup of the feudal system as well as the increasing technological advancement, have gained it even greater popularity. But along with the release of the individual from medieval bonds came the greater likelihood and possibility of alienation, as a widespread social problem.

Here the point must be made that although it is possible to compare and contrast asabiyyah with alienation, it is not possible to do so with self-alienation, for by definition it is not possible to have individual asabiyyah as it is with individual alienation. Therefore, for the purposes of this discussion, self-alienation has not been considered. However, since alienation and self-alienation can proceed one from the other, it follows aximomatically that self-alienation can thus be linked with asabiyyah. In Ibn Khaldun's thought, the loss of asabiyyah causes unhappiness, misery, dissatisfaction, isolation, disintegration, disunity and lack of cohesion. All these are also facets of alienation and self-alienation.

The concept of *anomie* has frequently been linked with alienation. Durkheim uses this concept to describe conditions of normlessness, the collapse of rules of conduct, social disorder, and the breakdown of the cultural structure (cf. "Suicide"). Implicit in most approaches to alienation is the ideal of an "integrated" individual, and of a cohesive society in which the individual will find meaning and satisfaction in his/her own productivity, and relations with others. As Durkheim expresses it, the individual in a "solidaristic" society will no longer find the only aim of one's conduct is oneself and, understanding that one is the instrument of a purpose greater than oneself, will see that one is not without significance. 8 of the many effects of industrialism on the family, perhaps most important is the breakdown of the extended kinship group which had been the primary productive and social unit in the pre-industrial age.

Durkheim's thesis also resembles Ibn Khaldun's. His views on social solidarity are in direct relationship to those of Ibn Khaldun, with the necessary changes of time and space. The latter's theories, with some modification necessary for modern industrialized society, can be applied to the rural and urban society of today with no difficulty. Modern terms and phrases like "working class solidarity", "them and us", "in-groups and out-grups", "primary groups and secondary groups", and others like them may have been coined in modern times, but the meanings they express and the sense of what they seek to convey were not unfamiliar to Ibn Khaldun. All these are pertinent to alienation, anomie, and at the same time to asabiyyah, thus reinforcing the possible relationship between the three.

While there is extreme variation in human religious experiences, generally the religions of East and West are alike in their integrative functions. They explain, and in their rituals support a basic solidarity of humanity, and of humanity and nature. They help to create and sustain bonds. "But if faith weakens, or is destroyed in the onslaught of science and secularism, man is truly alone."

(9) On this point Ibn Khaldun and Durkheim are in total agreement, and in a way, so also is Marx. Marx sees these functions being performed by religion, which he terms an opiate, and rejects totally in his ideal society.

However, both Durkheim and Ibn Khaldun would argue that it is precisely the weakening of religious faith and the corresponding increase in secularized society that causes alienation and anomie, and that an increase in religious faith would increase social solidarity and asabiyyah, and what Tonnies call Gemeineschaft— a genuine community of values.

The criticism that has been launched at Durkheim—that he places too much emphasis on the importance of society itself, and not enough on the individual— can also be applied to Ibn Khaldun. Howver, Bryan Turner, in his article entitled : "Sociological founders and precursors : the theories of Emile Durkheim, Fustel de Coulanges and Ibn Khaldun" (1971), shows the differences between the

sociological thought of Ibn Khaldun and that of Durkheim. He rejects the emphasis on the French origins of sociology (cf. Nisbet, 1952, Berger, 1963, and Bastide, 1935, to name but three out of a host of sociologists who firmly believe in it) which, interestingly, originated with Durkheim himself. Turner shows that "the conservative reaction was not the only source of inspiration for the development of sociological thought." (p. 33) He appears to agree with Lacoste's view (*see* above), when he says that : "A number of 'historical accidents' have played a large part in determining our ignorance of important sociologists." (*ibid.*) He continues : "The problem of having *the* sociological tradition is that it is difficult to rectify the stature of certain founders even when their theories are false and it is almost impossible to introduce new founders even when their theories are more credible. If an awareness of the development of sociology is important for present theorizing, then our tradition must be catholic and our appraisal of tradition continuously critical... Durkheim's standing in contemporary sociological theory and his stature as an innovative founder need re-evaluation... Fustel and Ibn Khaldun serve as valuable founding fathers in that they check an uncritical acceptance of the Durkheimian perspective." (p. 33f.)

Turner goes on to show how recent research has shown that Durkheim's definition of religion was based both on a factual error and on mistaken assumptions about comparative analysis ; he fails to distinguish between universality and cross-cultural applicability ; his dichotomy between the sacred and profane has not proved particularly successful in empirical research ; and that he explicitly rejects any socio-psychological variables in the explanation of religion. In addition, "there are doubts as to whether Durkheim's theory constitutes an explanation of religion." (p. 36) His theory is "an explanation of moral integration rather than an explanation of religion... he was attempting to justify religion in order to explain it... The conclusion which follows from his discussion is that since Durkheim's theory of religion has not stood the test of empirical research or conceptual analysis, his position in sociological theory is undermined." (p. 36f.)

Discussing Fustel he says : " Although the differences were important, the extent of Durkheim's debt to Fustel has not been adequately examined in existing studies of sociological development." (p. 42) Subsequently comparing Durkheim and Ibn Khaldun he says : "The fact that both Durkheim and Ibn Khaldun thought that religion acted as a constraint on individualism and deviance is immediately obvious. In particular, Durkheim's analysis of religious integration in primitive society and anomie in differentiated societies was parallel to Ibn Khaldun's view of the incompatibility between urban social structure and moral cohesion. Thus, the Durkheimian dichotomy of mechanical and organic solidarity was a theoretical model bearing close similarities with the 'desert'—'sedentary' distinction. Apart from these theoretical proximities, their common methodological assumptions are striking... The major differences between these two positivistic theories of religion is that Durkheim's sociological analysis was one-dimensional. His focus was on functional unity, on the integration of society as a whole

hus, the interrelationships between societies and between groups were underphasized...the' analysis of undifferentiated societies and the focus on the 'problem of order' has led to over-concentration on one form of integration, namely intra-group cohesion. Consequently, Durkheimian sociology has little interets in the role of religion in legitimating and generating social conflict. By contrast, Ibn Khaldun saw clearly that there was a high probability that intra-group cohesion was a condition of inter-group conflict in differentiated societies." (p. 44f.)

Turner shows that Ibn Khaldun had already become an established and important sociologist in the West, especially among the "conflict school", at the time when Durkheim and Weber were establishing themselves as sociologists. He also shows that while the proponents of the "conflict school" and a few other sociologists "introduced Ibn Khaldun to European and American sociologists, their one-sided concentration on his treatment... meant that the breadth of Ibn Khaldun's sociological theories was little appreciated." (p. 46) He concludes : Recognition of Fustel and Ibn Khaldun as *bona fide* founders of sociology could have the effect of safeguarding against the weakness in Durkheimian sociology, of uncritical intra-social analysis of the integrative functions of religion." (*ibid.*)

Some contemporary applications of Ibn Khaldun in sociological theorizing are to be found in E. Gellner, "A Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam" ; B. Turner and M. Mulkay, "Over-production of Personnel and Innovation in Three Social Settings" ; R. Bellah, "Islamic Tradition and Problems of Modernization" ; B. Turner, "Weber and Turner" : and F. Colonna, "Cultural Resistance and Religious Legitimacy in Colonial Algoria". For reasons of length it is not possible to discuss these applications here.

W. M. Watt discusses the unity of the Ummah—a concept very close to one of Ibn Khaldun's types of asabiyyah : "Islam may be said to have restored communal solidarity but to have attached it to the total community of Muslims rather than to any smaller unit. Much of the growth of Islam in tropical Africa in the last hundred years may be traced to its preservation of this sense of communal solidarity. It is indeed the solidarity of the *umma* community which is the chief contribution of the Islamic religion in the political sphere." [10] (cf. the concept of *Corpus Christianum* in Kraemer, 1938.)

M. Iqbal says : "As a social movement the aim of Islam was to make the idea of humanity (as a single organism) a living factor in the Muslim's daily life... It was neither a concept of philosophy nor a dream of poetry." (1931, p. 133f.)

However, the ultimate problem, as yet nowhere solved, is how to restore and preserve group solidarity without destroying the last remnants of individual autonomy. The integration of modern society is no simple task and at best it is imperfectly achieved, or at great cost. But that society which tells to make the effort is not likely to survive.

Despite Marx's rejection of it as mere "opium" and despite its rejection by a

great many others, the answer may yet lie in religion. It can bring no instant cures for all society's ills, but integration, cohesion and solidarity it certainly does bring, as Ibn Khaldun has so convincingly shown, and as Durkheim also shows. Of course, as a possible solution it may not be acceptable to an increasingly large number of secularized individuals, but for those who do accept it as an integrating factor, it could play an important role.

The Quran says: "Lo! this, your Ummah (community/nation/religion), is one Ummah, and I am your Lord, so worship Me." (21 : 92, cf. also 23 : 52)

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Scarcely has any other religious system exercised so potent and so durable an influence as Islam on the mind, the civic character, the political and historical development of a people. It has impressed its stamp on all who have subscribed to its creed, and the intervening centuries have in no way blurred or effected that stamp.

Sociology, as a separate discipline, is a comparatively young branch of knowledge. It has gained prominence over the last century, and has made rapid strides since then. But it is hoped that this work has served to show that sociology and social philosophy should be nothing new for Islam. Muslim scholars have long recognized the worth and value of the Quran for its social philosophy, supplemented by the *Hadith* and *Sunnah* (*vide* glossary) of the Prophet Muhammad.

This study has concentrated on Ibn Khaldun, but other Muslim scholars besides him also made their contribution in this field, most of whom remained unknown outside Islam. In the Arabic-speaking tradition some examples are al-Mawardi, al-Ghazzali, Ibn Jama's, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Bajja, Ibn Rushd and al-Dawwani. In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent examples are Aurangzeb, Shah Waliullah, Maulana Qamaruddin and Muhammad Iqbal.

There can be no doubt whatsoever regarding the history of the marked lack of friendly relations between Islam and the West, especially Europe. The reasons for this manifest hostility are outside the scope of the present study and are, in any case, too well-known to admit of restatement here. Here we are concerned specifically with scholarship, and in this field too, there has been great hostility and animosity. Unfortunately, the greater portion of this hostility has come from Europe not only in an active literary anti-Islam campaign reminiscent of the Crusades but also in another sense: the refusal of Western scholars to acknowledge the very substantial contribution of Islam to the arts and sciences. Most leading scholars and orientalists now admit this, but it has taken them almost a millenium and a half to do so.

William Drapper says: "I have to deplore the systematic manner in which the literature of Europe has contrived to put out of sight our scientific obligations to the Mohammedans. Surely they cannot be much longer hidden. Injustice founded on religious rancour and national conceit cannot be perpetuated for ever."[1]

In a similar view A. J. Arberry says: "Europe for centuries was unfair to Islam, in the sense that the positive achievements of Muslim civilization were overlooked, scholarship being the handmaid of religious partisanship."[2]

This attitude is decreasing but this trend is by no means universal, on either side. The advent of imperialism and colonialism did not help either. The West came on a "civilizing mission", as "ambassadors of a higher civilization". As Toynbee rightly says: "In the encounter between the world and the West that has been going on by now for four or five hundred years, the world, not the West, is the party that, up to now, has had the significant experience. It has not been the West that has been hit by the world ; it is the world that has been hit—and hit hardly by the West. The West (the world will say) has been the arch-agressor of modern times. And certainly the world's judgment on the West does seem to be justified over a period of about four and a half centuries ending in 1950."[3]

Regarding the nineteen thirties and forties Hitti observes: "Unfortunately during the last decade or two, in particular, the impact of the West has not been all for the good. There is a striking contrast between the humanitarian ideas professed by Western missionaries, teachers, and preachers, and the disregard of human values by European and American politicians and warriors ; a disparity between word and deed ; an overemphasis on economic and nationalistic values. The behaviour of the so-called advanced nations during the last two wars waged on a scale unknown in history ; the ability of Western man to let loose these diabolic forces which are the product of his science and his machine and which now threaten the world with destruction ; and, with particular relation to the Near East, the handling of the Palestine problem by America, England, France and other nations—all these have worked together to disillusion the man of the Near East who has been trying to establish an intellectual rapprochement with the West. It is these actions of the West which alienate him and shake his belief in the character of the Western man and his morality on both the private and the public levels."[4]

After colonization, a great effort was made by the dominant colonial powers to impose their own culture, ideology and, in some cases, religion on to the colonized. The fact that these subjugated peoples possessed their own—no less illustrious—heritage did not seem to weigh with colonial administrators. Top priority was given to education, so that the coming generations could be brought up in the Western tradition and thus pose no threat to imperialism. Lord Macaulay introduced the new system of education into India and declared its objectives in

the following words : "We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect."[5]

Sir W. W. Hunter studied the results of this imposed educational system in India, and remarked that : "The truth is that our system of public instruction is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful of the religion, of the Musalmans... Is it therefore any wonder... that the Musalmans have held aloof from a system which has made no concession to their prejudices, made no provision for what they esteemed their necessities ; which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests and at variance with all their social traditions."[6]

This kind of education was introduced throughout that part of the Muslim world which was colonized, and although Muslims were educated at these institutions, this further deepened their discontent and mistrust of the West. Those who forsook their traditions were hailed by the colonizers as "modern" and "progressive", while those who refused to submit to this cultural onslaught were called "reactionary vehicles of conservatism and retrogression".

However, the advent of imperialism and colonialism brought with it not only political and socio-economic changes in the lives of the colonized, but also brought about changes of attitude, outlook and mentality. As has been outlined above, the masters in some cases had to impose their "superior" culture and civilization on to the colonized. In other cases there was no need for imposition, as it was argued that Western civilization *was* "superior", for how else could its subjects be the rulers, while the subjects of other, "inferior", civilizations were the ruled ? So everything "Western" became synonymous with "good", with the axiomatic corollary that everything "Eastern" must be "bad". If not "bad", at least not as "good" as its Western counterpart.

However, things cannot be as simplistic as that. The scapegoat mechanism is very convenient and very tempting, but in this instance Western colonialism alone is not at fault. If there were colonized people who thought in the manner outlined above, surely there must have been others who disagreed. There must have been some who, despite the decline of Islam and its own empire, still cherished its vast treasure-house of knowledge, amassed over the first eight centuries. There must have been those who wanted this scholarship kept alive by teaching it in Madressahs (*vide* glossary) if it could be taught nowhere else, due to secularizing tendencies and changes brought about by colonialism and modernization.

If there were, they could not make their voices heard, for schools became Europeanized, and the Madrassahs generally declined into mindless centres of ritualistic praying, much rote-learning of the Quran and sometimes of the Hadith and Sunnah, and some calligraphy. There were exceptions, but these were few and far between. Scholarship, in the great spirit of Ijtihad (*vide* glossary), of exploration and adventure, seemed to be irretrievably lost. In fact, it had been

lost even before colonialism stepped in, due to rigid, orthodox thinking that what the great religious scholars of the first few centuries had said or written was almost sacrosanct, and "thou shalt not add or erase or change one word of it". The gates of *Ijtihad* were indeed closed and religion became a fixed dogma, learnt and practised like an automation. This was fertile soil for colonialism to step into, which it did.

However, the question now arises as to what happened after the independence of the various Muslim states. The short answer is that nothing changed very much. Nationalism and religion may have gone hand in hand during the various movements for independence, but once that goal had been achieved, and religion had served its purpose, like a tool it was again cast aside, either deliberately, as in Ataturk's Turkey, or not so deliberately, as in Algeria.[7] (cf. F. Colonna, op. cit.).

In either case, the policies of almost all the newly-independent states were to look towards their erstwhile masters for everything, from food to nuclear energy, including the whole spectrum of education, both in the Humanities and in the Sciences. Again, the heritage of Islamic scholarship was ignored, except in isolated places like the al-Azhar University, where it had never been stopped, but which was a highly specialized and exclusive milieu, in which the masses could not participate, and from which they did not receive a great deal of direct benefit.

In science and technology the West (having originally learnt it from the East) had forcefully asserted its superiority, and so it was inevitable that the rest of the world would want to share in its benefits. But there is no such criterion for the study of the social sciences. Western social scientists, philosophers, historians, and indeed sociologists, are avidly read, studied and quoted by Muslims who, unless they are engaged in specialized study, in most cases have never even heard of their own rich legacy in these fields.

It is a matter for sad reflection that those who initially set the West on the road towards its later successes are themselves forgotten by their own descendants. It is further ironic that these great scholars are now reaching their descendants *via* the West, which has lately " discovered " them and the debt it owes to them. They have been "dug up" and resuscitated by the West, and because the East is still aping the West, it has also started showing some interest in its glorious past, and in those who made it glorious. "Look to Europe through every window," said a Muslim politician in the late nineteen-sixties. As Franz Fanon so succinctly expressed it : " Black faces, white masks". The Third World may be rid of the trappings of colonialism, but it still holds fast to its slave mentality.

The only way we can get rid of this mentality is to shed our inferiority complexes—to stand up and face the West on a basis of equality ; on a new relationship based on mutual understanding and respect ; on the basis of cultural give-and-take. There must be no more "superiority" and "inferiority" complexes, on *either* side. There must not be assertion of one to the detriment of the other,

The gates of Ijtihad must not be kept shut—they must be opened and the flood of scholarship which I believe is not irretrievably lost, must be allowed to gush forth once again. We must learn from the West, but we must also teach the West. Above all, we must not learn our history from the West. That is shameful and degrading in the extreme. We no longer have to try to prove to the West how great our past was—the West already knows it. It also knows how abysmal is our present. Our task is to face the knowledge of our past and our present, and to put them both to constructive use, in order to build a better future—to learn to help ourselves, and then to help others to help themselves.

In this way relations between Islam and the West can improve, and the desired rapprochement can take place. In the words of R. S. Darbishire: "Therefore, if we follow the safeguards of Ibn Khaldun against exaggeration of what is 'strange', each of our two worlds must learn what is scientifically possible. He says that we must consider possibility according to the circumstances of its origin, its kind, its difference from one thing and another, its attributes, its extent and size and power. Only what is beyond the sphere of what is found possible by these standards is impossible. By such standards we must decide if rapprochement is possible between Christendom and Islam, especially if theology is not one of the sciences and if science is not a religion of Truth."

"What then is possible in the way of rapprochement of our two worlds? We are not now so much concerned with the answer in regard to material and substance as with the necessity of asking the question, of being free to ask this question. Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom to obey the law because it is reasonable and loyal to its ideal unity free from circumstance. Holy warfare has failed to unite, theological argument has failed to unite, intellectual co-operation towards the ideal of unity will not fail. This is not merely by the knowledge of what, though strange, is true, though different is alike, but by the power, the essential power of understanding to unite, the power of an ideal unity to unify."[8]

A great deal still remains to be done to fully comprehend and appreciate Ibn Khaldun's contribution to knowledge. Despite an everincreasing number of studies in recent years, on his life and work, his contribution is still not fully explored and investigated in all its facets and phases. "His contribution to history did not confine itself to those historical and sociological theories, unique as they are, as expounded in his Prolegomena. Nor can he be regarded any more solely as the historian of Western Islam, of the Berbers and the Arabs in North Africa and Spain... A thorough investigation of his legacy shows, however, that his contribution goes beyond the confine of the Islamic civilization and that he has made a substantial and important contribution towards the understanding of the non-Arab and pre-Islamic peoples as well. The second volume of his History...reveals a hitherto overlooked aspect of Ibn Khaldun's manifold scholarly interests and shows him as a historian of religion, as a scholar deeply interested in comparative religion.

"To illustrate Ibn Khaldun's special interest in religious movements and religious manifestations, particularly of Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity, the claim to regard Ibn Khaldun as a historian of religions can be based on philological as well as on terminological grounds... How thoroughly Ibn Khaldun made himself acquainted with the religious and spiritual backgrounds of the non-Arab and pre-Islamic peoples, with the fundamental tenets, dogmas, and institutions of the leading non-Islamic religions—Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaism, Mazdakism, Sabaism, Christianity, etc., is particularly evident when all the references, scattered as they are throughout his '*Ibar* are gathered and subjected to a critical analysis... It appears from such an investigation that Ibn Khaldun's selections of the material he deemed worthwhile to include and to accept, or contrariwise the type of material which he rejected and omitted, bears a typical Khaldunic tinge and gives us the key for an understanding of Ibn Khaldun's attitude toward religions, and his contribution to comparative religion."[9]

This is a field which, while deserving of further research and study, is outside the scope of the present study, which has been confined mostly to Ibn Khaldun's writings on the social sciences. However, in the words of Nathaniel Schmidt: "The important thing is not that the priority question be settled, or even that Ibn Khaldun's merits be recognized, but that the fertile suggestions of this extraordinary genius be given an ampler opportunity to affect men's thinking on a number of problems now in the foreground of scientific discussion."[10] This is what the present study has set out to do.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

CHAPTER I (Introduction)

1. R. Flint, "History of the Philosophy of History", quoted in Issawi, 1950, p. x.

2. Muslims would not agree with Toynbee on this particular point.

3. A. J. Toynbee, "A Study of History" (1934—1954), Vol. III, pp. 321-322.

4. Translated as "Community and Association", of Mews, S., "Community as a sociological concept", in Bright, L., (ed.) "The Christian Community: essays on the role of the church in the world", 1971.

CHAPTER II

1. Or "Fell into the hands of the Christians", as F. Rosenthal, 1967 puts it.

2. F. Rosenthal translates The Muqaddimah with an introduction by N. J. Dawood, 1967, p. viii.

3. Brockelmann, 1939, p. 215.

4. MR. 1958, vol. I, p. 534.

5. Ibn Khaldun, History, Vol. VII, pp. 453-454.

6. On the comparison of Ibn Khaldun with Machiavelli, see the following chapter.

7. MR. 1958, p. lxvii.

8. Issawi, 1958, p. 2.

9. For further discussion on the word "umran" see the following chapter.

10. MR. 1958, p. 33 ff.

11. Enan op. cit., p. 73 f.

CHAPTER III

1. N. Schmidt, 1932, p. 61.

2. The spiritual factor is ignored by those wishing to impart a totally materialist view of Ibn Khaldun. cf. Batseva below.

3. Ibn Khaldun makes an exception of certain religious leaders, *e.g.* prophets, who can influence social trends, but these are isolated exceptions to the rule, which still stands.

4. There are distinct shadows of Marx here.

5. K. Bukhsh, 1927, p. 589.

6. M. Hamidullah, 1970, p. 40, No. 103.

7. cf. the big difference between Islamic and Hindu outlook. There is no question of reincarnation in Islam.

8. The Muqaddimah, quoted in Rabi, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

9. M. Mahdi, 1957, pp. 188-189.

10. S. M. Batseva, 1971, p. 123.

11. For a more detailed study of his views on reason, see below.

12. F. Gabrieli, "Il concetto della *'asabiyya* nel pensiero storico di Ibn Haldun", in Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, LXV (1930, pp. 473–512),

13. H.A.R. Gibb, "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory", in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, VII (1933).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 167—174.

15. cf. traces of Gibb's influence. Brockelmann's book was published six years after Gibb's article

16. C. Brockelmann, 1939, p. 217.
17. J. C. Riesler, "La Civilisation Arabe", Paris, 1955, quoted in H. Bammate, 1962, p. 50.
18. R. M. Savory (ed.), 1976, p. 69.
19. B. Lewis, "The Arabs in History", 1950, p. 136.
20. Tahtawi, "Takhlis", p. 185f., quoted in I, Abu-Lughod, "The Arab Rediscovery of Europe", 1963, p. 96.
21. H. Susic, 1974, p. 138.
22. P. K. Hitti, "History of the Arabs", 1937, p. 568.
23. A. H. Siddiqui, "What Islam gave to humanity", in K. Ahmad (ed.) "Islam, its Meaning and Message", 1975, pp. 214—216.
24. A. Guillaume, "Islam", 1954, p. 121.
25. W. M. Watt, "What is Islam", 1968, p. 216.
26. L. Gardet, "Mohammedanism", 1961, p. 131.
27. D. M. Dunlop, "Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500", 1971, p. 149.
28. H. V. White, "Ibn Khaldun in World Philosophy of History", in Comparative Studies in Society and History", vol. 2, 1959, p. 112f.
29. M. Nassar, "La Pensee Realiste d' Ibn Khaldun", 1967, pp. 122ff.
30. S. M. Yusuf, "Some Aspects of Islamic Culture", 1961, pp. 12—26.
31. H. Bammate, "Muslim Contribution to Civilization", 1962, pp. 52ff.
32. E. I. J. Rosenthal, "Ibn Khaldun : A North African Muslim Thinker of the Fourteenth Century", in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 24, 1940, pp. 307ff.
33. cf. discussion on P. Berger below.
34. cf. discussion on Machievelli above.
35. S. A. H. A. Nadwi, "Islamic Concept of Prophethood", 1962, p. 74.
36. R. S. Darbichire, 1940, p. 234.
37. K. Cragg, "The House of Islam", 1975, pp. 106 ff.

HAPTER IV

1. W. M. Watt, "Islamic Political Thought", 1968, p. 101.
2. R. Levy, "An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam", vol. I, p. 70.
3. E. I. J. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

4. Yves Lacoste, "Ibn Khaldoun—Naissance de l' historie passe du tie monde", 1973, pp. 32ff.

5. R. Schacht, "Alienation", 1970, p. 262.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

7. cf. Schacht, *op. cit.*, and Josephson (ed.), "Man Alone", 1962.

8. cf. Josephson, p. 16.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

10. W. M. Watt, "Islamic Poitical Thought", 1968, p. 29.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER V

1. W. Drapper, quoted in K. Ahmad, "Islam and the West", 1958, p. 1

2. A. J. Arberry (trans.) M. Iqbal's "Mysteries of Selflessness", p. xiv.

3. A. Toynbee, "The World and the West" (Reith Lectures), pp. 3-4.

4. Phillip K. Hitti, "Current Trends in Islam", in "Islam in the Mode World", The Middle East Institute, Washington, 1955, pp. 7-8.

5. Lord Macaulay, quoted in K. Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 1958, p. 10.

6. Sir W. W. Hunter, "The Indian Musalmans", pp. 162ff.

7. Any number of examples could be given here—Egypt, Pakistan, Mal ysia, etc. Pakistan is an especial case in point, as it actually can into being on the basis of religion—The Islamic Republic of Pakista However, its educational policies since than have, in practice, been Western-oriented as those of Turkey, no matter what is said in theor At present, efforts are being made to counter past trends and practice

8. R. S. Darbishire, "The Philosophical Rapprochement of Cristendo and Islam in accordance with Ibn Khaldun's Scientific Criticism What is Strange", in The Muslim World, vol. 30, 1940, p. 232.

9. W. Fischel, "Ibn Khaldun's Contribution to Comparative Religion in The International Congress of Orientalists, vol. 24, 1957, p. 334

10. N. Schmidt, "Ibn Khaldun and His Prolegomena", in The Musl World, vol. 22, 1932, p. 63.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(i) **Books** :

Abu-Lughod, I .. "The Arab Rediscovery of Europe" (Princeton University Press, N. Jersey, 1963).

Ahmad, K. .. "Islam and the West" (Islamic Publications Ltd., Lahore, 1958).

Ahmad, (ed.) .. "Islam—Its Meaning and Message" (Islamic Council of Europe, London, 1975).

Ali, B. .. "Muslim Social Philosophy" (J. Falah Publications, Karachi, 1967).

Ameer Ali, S. .. "A Short History of the Saracens" (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1889).

Azzam, A. R. .. "The Eternal Message of Muhammad" (New American Library, Mentor, New York, 1964).

Bammate, H. .. "Muslim Contribution to Civilization" (Crescent Publication, Maryland, 1962).

Barbour, N. (ed.) "A Survey of North-West Africa" (Oxford Unversity Press, London, 1959).

Bastide, R. .. "Elements de Sociologie Religieuse" (Armand Colin, Paris, 1935).

Bellah, R. .. "Beyond Belief" (chap. on Islam), Harper & Row, New York, 1970).

Berger, P. .. "Invitation to Sociology" (Penguin, 1963).

Cragg, K. .. "The House of Islam" (Dickenson Publishing Co. Inc., California, 1975).

Dunlop, D. M. .. "Arab Civilization to A. D. 1500" (Longman, Beirut—London, 1971).

Enan, M. A. .. "Ibn Khaldun—His Life and Work" (S. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1941).

Fischel, W. J. .. "Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane" (University of California Press, 1952).

Fischel, W. J. .. "Ibn Khaldun in Egypt" (University of California Press, 1967).

Gardet, L. .. "Mohammedanism" (Hawthorn Books, New York, 1961).

Gellner, E. .. "A Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam", in R. Robertson (ed.), "Sociology of Religion" (Penguin, 1969).

Gibb, H.A.R. .. "The Islamic Background of Ibn Khaldun's Political Theory", in Shaw & Polk, (ed.)

.. "Studies on the Civilization of Islam" (Routledge & Kegan, Paul, London, 1962).

Guillaume, A. .. "Islam" (Pelican, 1954).

Hamidullah, M. .. "Introduction to Islam" (I.I.F.S.O., Beirut, 1970).

Hitti, P. K. .. "History of the Arabs" (Macmillan, London, 1937).

Ibn Khaldun .. "The Muqaddimah" (Trans. F. Rosenthal, in 3 vols.). (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1958).

Ibn Khaldun .. "The Muqaddimah" (Trans. F. Rosenthal, abridged, edited and introduced by N. J. Dawood) (R.C.K.P., 1967).

Iqbal, A. .. "The Culture of Islam" (Institute of Islamc Culture, Lahore, 1967).

Iqbal, M. .. "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" (S. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1931).

Issawi, C. .. "An Arab Philosophy of History" (J. Murray, London, 1950).

Jeffery, A. (ed.) .. "A Reader on Islam" (Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1962).

Josephson, E. & M. (eds.). "Man Alone" (Dell, New York, 1962).

Kraemer, H. .. "The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World" (Edinburgh House Press, London, 1938).

Lacoste, Y. .. "Ibn Khaldoun" (Francois Maspero, Paris, 1973).

Lewis, B. .. "The Arabs in History" (Hutchinson, London, 1950).

MacDonald, D. B. "The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam" (Khayats, Beirut, 1965).

Mahdi, M. .. "Ibn Kaldun's Philosophy of History" (University of Chicago Press, 1957).

Myers, E. A. .. "Arabic Thought and the Western World" (Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., New York, 1964).

Nadvi, S. M. .. "Muslim Thought and its Source" (S. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1953).

Nadwi, S.A.H.A. "Islamic Concept of Prophethood" (Academy of Islamic Research Publications, Lucknow, 1976).

Rabi, M. M. .. "The Political Theory of Ibn Khaldun" (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1967).

Rosenthal, E.I.J... "Political Thought in Medieval Islam" (Cambridge University Press, 1958).

Rosenthal, F. (transl) s.v. Ibn Khaldun.

Savory, R. M. (ed.) "Introduction to Islamic Civilisation" (Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Schacht, J. & Bosworth, C.E. (eds.), "The Legacy of Islam" (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974).

Schacht, R. .. "Alienation" (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1970).

Sharif, R. .. "Islamic Social Framework" (S. M. Ashraf, Lahore, 1954).

Toynbee, A. J. .. "A Study of History" (Oxford University Press, London, 1934).

Turner, B. .. "Weber and Islam" (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1974).

Watt, W. M. .. "Islamic Philosophy and Theology" (Edinburgh University Press, 1962).

Watt, W. M. .. "Islam and the Integration of Society" (R. & K. P., London, 1961).

Watr, W. M. .. "What is Islam?" (Longmans, London—Beirut, 1968).

Yusuf, S. M. .. "Some Aspects of Islamic Culture" (Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1961).

(ii) **Periodicals**:

Alam, M. .. "Ibn Khaldun's concept of the origin, growth and decay of cities" in Islamic Culture, vol. 34, 1960, pp. 90—106.

Arnaldez, R. .. "Reflexions sur un passage de la Muqaddima d' Ibn Khaldun" in Melanges R. Crozet, vol. 2, 1966, pp. 1337—1340.

Astre, G. A. .. "Un precurseur de le sociologie au XIVe siecle: Ibn Khaldoun" in L' Islam et l' Occident, 1947, pp. 131—150.

Batseva, S. .. "Ibn Khaldun et son milieu social" in Atti 3. Cong. studi arabi e islamici, Ravello, 1966, pp. 133—143.

Batseva, S. .. "The Social Foundations of Ibn Khaldun's historice — philosophical doctrine" in Islamic Quarterly, vol. 15, 1971, pp. 121—132.

Ben Salem, L. .. "La notion de pouvoir dans l' oeuvre d' Ibn Khaldun" in Cahiers internationale de sociologie, vol. 55, 1973, pp. 293—314.

Blachere, R. .. "Place D' Ibn Khaldun dans l'humanisme arabo-islamique" in La Nouvelle Revue des Deux Mondes, Oct. 1972, pp. 70—79.

Buret, L. .. "Notes marginales sur less Prolegomenes" in Revue Tunisienne, 1934, pp. 23—32.

Carre, O. .. "A propos de la sociologie politique d'Ibn Khaldun" in Revue francaise de sociologie, vol. 14, 1973, pp. 115—124.

Clement, J.F.A. & F. .. "Ibn Khaldun, theoricien de l' inconscience" in Homme et societe vol. 31/32, 1974, pp. 161—183.

Colonna, F. .. "Cultural resistance and religious legitimacy in colonial Algeria" in Economys & Society, vol. 3., No. 3, 1974, pp. 233—250.

Colosio, S. .. "Contribution a l'etude d'Ibn Khaldun" in Revue de Monde Musulmane, vol. 26, 1914. PP. 318-338

Darbishire, R.S. .. "The Philosophical Rapprochement of Christendom & Islam in accordance with Ibn Khaldun's scientific criticism of what is strange" in Muslim World, vol. 30, 1940, pp. 226—235.

Fischel, W. .. "Ibn Khaldun's contribution to comparative religions" in 24th International Congress of Orientalists, 1957, pp. 334-335.

Gabrieli, F. .. "Il concetto della asabiyya nel pensiero storico di Ibn Haldun" in Atti, R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino, vol. LXV, 1930, pp. 473—512.

Gates. W. E. .. "The spread of Ibn Khaldun's ideas on climate and culture", in Journal of the history of ideas, vol. 28, 1967, pp. 415—422.

Gellner, E. .. "From Ibn Khaldun to Karl Marx" in Political Quarterly, vol. 32, 1961, pp. 385—392.

Khuda Bukhsh .. "Ibn Khaldun and his history of Islamic civilization" in Islamic Culture, vol. I, 1927, pp, 567—607.

Marnes H. E. .. "Sociology before Comte" in American Journal of Sc logy, vol. 23, no. 2, 1917, pp. 196—199.

Maunier, R. .. "Les idees sociologiques d'un philosophe Arabe au X siecle" in L'Egypte contemporaine, vol. 8, 1917, pp. 31-

Monteil, V. .. "Ibn Khaldoun, sociologue et historien" in Revue torique, vol. 237, 1967, pp. 339—358.

Pines, S. .. "The Societies providing for the bare necessities of according to Ibn Khaldun and to the philosophers" Studia Islamica, vol. 34, 1971, pp. 125—138.

Prakash, B. .. "Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history" in Islamic Cul vol. 28, 1954, pp. 492—508., cont. vol. 29, 1955, pp. 1 119; 184—190; 225—236.

Ritter, H. .. "Irrational Solidarity groups—A speciopsychological s in connection with Ibn Khaldun" in Oriens, vol. 1, 1 pp. 9—44.

Rosenthal, E.I.J. . "Ibn Khaldun: a North African Muslim thinker fourteenth century" in Bulletin of the John Rylands Libı vol. 24, 1940, pp. 307—320.

Rosenthal, E.I.J. "Ibn Khaldun's attitude to the Falasifa" in Al-Andı vol. 20, 1955, pp. 75—85.

Saeed Sheikh, M. "Ibn Khaldun" in Iqbal, vol. 9, 1960, pp. 14—22.

Schmidt, N. .. "The Manuscripts of Ibn. Khaldun" in Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. 46, 1926, pp. 171—176.

Schmidt, N. .. "Ibn Khaldun and his Prolegomena" in Muslim Wc vol. 22, 1932, pp. 61—63.

Sherwari, H.K. .. "Ibn Khaldun and his politico-economic thought" in I mic Culture, vol. 44, 1970, pp. 71—80.

Susic, H. .. "2 concepts in political philosophy—Ibn Rusd and Haldun" in Prilozi, vol. 24, 1974, pp. 133—139.

Turner, B. .. "Sociological founders and precursors, the theories of gion of E. Durkheim, Fustel de Coulanges and Ibn Khald in Religion, vol. I (1971), pp. 32—48.

:er, R. .. "Aspects of Islamic political thought: al-Farabi and Ibn Haldun" in Oriens, vol. 16, 1963, pp. 40—60.

.e, H.V. .. "Ibn Khaldun in world philosophy of history" in Comparative studies in society and history, vol. 2, 1959, pp. 110—125.

ng, W. L. .. "From history to political sociology: Ibn Khaldun, Islam and the Islamic state" in Quarterly Review of historical studies, vol. 13, 1973-74, pp. 201—204.

K—NH/898/80-81—21-2-81—300.